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THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

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THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON,

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,

BY THE REV. HENRY J. TODD, M.A. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF ALLHALLOWS, LOMBARD-STREET, &c.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

AND WITH

A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTON'S POETRY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Johnson; R. Baldwin; Otridge and Son; Nichols and Son; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; J. Walker; W. Lowndes; Scatcherd and Letterman; J. Nunn; Wilkie and Robinson; Clarke and Sons; R. Lea; E. Jefferey; J. Carpenter; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Cadell and Davies; Lackington, Allen and Co.; Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe; John Richardson; James Richardson; J. Mawman; J. Harris; and Mathews and Leigh:

By Law and Gilbert, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell.

1809.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

PARADISE REGAINED.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

PARADISE REGAINED *.

THAT the *Paradiſe Regained* has been conſiderably underrated by the world, ſeems of late to be an opinion almoſt generally admitted. But perhaps we ſhall ſtate the fact more correctly, if we ſay that it has been *neglected*, rather than *underrated*; that it has been more *unknown*, than *not admired*. This is ſo much the caſe, that I apprehend ſome of the warmeſt panegyriſts of the *Paradiſe Loſt* have never honoured this Poem with a peruſal; or only with a caſual and moſt unfair one, under a cloud of prejudices againſt it.—A critick, whoſe taſte, judgement, and candour are unqueſtioned, has given it abſolutely *no place at all* among the Works of its Author. "If I might venture to place Milton's Works according to their degrees of poetick excellence," ſays Dr. Joſeph Warton, "it ſhould be perhaps in the following order, PARADISE LOST, COMUS, SAMSON AGONISTES, LYCIDAS, L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO." *(See concluding note to the Lycidas, in Warton's Edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems!)* I ſhould hope that PARADISE REGAINED *ſlipped accidentally out of* the liſt: indeed what the late Mr. Warton has ſaid of the *Comus*, I do not heſitate to apply to the Poem before us, and to hazard freely my unqualified opinion, that "the Author is here inferiour only to his own *Paradiſe Loſt*."

* I have ventured to form the remarks of the learned editor of *Paradiſe Regained*, ſubjoined in his elegant edition of 1795 to the *end of each book*, into a *Preliminary Diſcourſe*; as correſponding, in this modification, with the deſign of Mr. Addiſon's critical eſſay on *Paradiſe Loſt*; which is, to point out ſtrongly the *particular* beauties of the Poem to the reader's notice; or, in other words, to tell him the delicious fare which he may expect, and to bid him "ſit down, and feed, and welcome at the table." TODD.

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If we conſider the FIRST BOOK, we ſhall find much to admire, and little to cenſure.

The Propoſition of the Subject is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the concluding line, " And Eden rais'd in the waſte wilderneſs."

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit is equally devout and poetical. The Baptiſm of John carries us with the beſt effect *in medias res*. Satan's Infernal Council is briefly, but finely, aſſembled; his ſpeech is admirable; and the effect of it is ſtrongly depicted. This is ſtrikingly contraſted by the ſucceeding beautiful deſcription of the Deity ſurrounded by his Angels; his Speech to them; and the triumphant Hymn of the Cœleſtial Choir.—— Indeed the whole opening of this Poem is executed in ſo maſterly a manner, that, making allowance for a certain wiſh to *compreſs*, which is palpably viſible, very few parts of the *Paradiſe Loſt* can in any reſpect claim a pre-eminence.—The brief deſcription of our Lord's entering " now the bordering deſart wild, and with dark ſhades and rocks environ'd round;" and again, where " looking round on every ſide he beholds a pathleſs deſart, duſk with horrid ſhades," are ſcenes worthy the pencil of Salvator. Our Lord's Soliloquy is a material part of the Poem, and briefly narrates the early part of his life. In the *Paradiſe Loſt*, where the Divine Perſons are ſpeakers, Milton has ſo chaſtened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly ſcriptural ſentiments, delivered, as near as may be, in ſcriptural, and almoſt always in unornamented, language. But the poet ſeems to conſider this circumſtance of the Temptation, (if I may venture ſo to expreſs myſelf,) as the laſt, perfect, completion of the *Initiation* of the Man Jeſus in the *myſtery* of his own divine nature and office: at leaſt he feels himſelf entitled to make our Saviour while on earth, and " inſhrined in fleſhly tabernacle," ſpeak in a certain degree, ανθρωπινως, or, *after the manner of men*. Accordingly all the ſpeeches of our bleſſed Lord, in this Poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the Divine Speakers in any part of the *Paradiſe Loſt*. The ingrafting Mary's Speech into that of her Son, it muſt be allowed, is not a happy circumſtance. It has an awkward effect, loads the reſt of the Speech, and might have been avoided, and better managed. The deſcription of the probable manner of our Lord's paſſing the forty days in the wilderneſs is very pictureſque; and

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the return of the wild beaſts to their Paradiſiacal mildneſs is finely touched. The appearance of the Tempter in his aſſumed character; the deep art of his two firſt ſpeeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a ſemblance of ſimplicity; his bold avowal and plauſible vindication of himſelf; the ſubſequent detection of his fallacies, and the pointed reproofs of his impudence and hypocriſy, on the part of our Bleſſed Lord;—cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole concluſion of this Book abounds ſo much in cloſeneſs of reaſoning, grandeur of ſentiment, elevation of ſtyle, and harmony of numbers, that it may well be queſtioned whether poetry on ſuch a ſubject, and eſpecially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing ſuperiour to it.

The ſingular beauty of the brief deſcription of night coming on in the deſart, cloſes the Book with ſuch admirable effect, that it leaves us *con la bocca dolce*.

The opening of the SECOND BOOK is not calculated to engage attention, by any particular beauty of the pictureſque or deſcriptive kind; but by recurring to what paſſed at the river Jordan among Jeſus's new diſciples and followers upon his abſence, and by making Mary expreſs her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his ſubject. It might perhaps be wiſhed, that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin, reſpecting the early life of her Son, had been confined ſolely to this place, inſtead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's ſoliloquy in the firſt Book. There it ſeems aukwardly introduced, but here I conceive her ſpeech might have been extended with good effect.—Our Lord, (ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate deſcription, again preſented to us in the wilderneſs. The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan return to his infernal council, to report the bad ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, and to demand their counſel, and aſſiſtance, in an enterpriſe of ſo much difficulty. This he does in a brief and energetick ſpeech. Hence ariſes a debate; or at leaſt a propoſition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan, of which I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my admiration. The language of Belial is exquiſitely deſcriptive of the power of beauty, without a ſingle word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine Poem. Satan's reply is eminently fine: his imputing to Belial, as the moſt diſſolute of the fallen Angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologiſts to the Heathen Gods, while it is

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replete with claſſick beauty, furniſhes an excellent moral to thoſe extravagant fictions: and his deſcription of the little effect which the moſt powerful enticements can produce on the reſolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language, is, in its general tenour, of the moſt ſuperiour and dignified kind. Indeed all this part of his ſpeech (from ver. 191, to ver. 225.) ſeems to breathe ſuch a ſincere and deep ſenſe of the charms of real goodneſs, that we almoſt forget who is the ſpeaker: at leaſt we readily ſubſcribe to what he had ſaid of himſelf in the firſt Book;

——————— "I have not loſt
"To love, at leaſt contemplate and admire,
"What I ſee excellent in good, or fair,
"Or virtuous."

After ſuch ſentiments ſo expreſſed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his ſubject, by making the Arch-Fiend reſume his attempts againſt the Divine Perſon, the commanding majeſty of whoſe invincible virtue he had juſt been deſcribing with ſuch ſeemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much addreſs, by Satan's propoſing to adopt ſuch modes of temptation as are apt to prevail moſt, where the propenſities are virtuous, and where the diſpoſition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the Tempter and his aſſociates to the wilderneſs, the Poem advances towards the heighth of its argument.—Our Saviour's paſſing the night is well deſcribed. The coming on of morn is a beautiful counterpart of "night coming on in the deſart," which ſo finely cloſed the preceding Book. Our Lord's waking—his viewing the country—and the deſcription of the "pleaſant grove," which is to be the ſcene of the banquet—are all ſet off with every grace that poetry can give. The appearance of Satan, varied from his firſt diſguiſe, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his ſpeech, referring to ſcripture examples of perſons miraculouſly fed in deſart places, is truly artful and in character; as is his ſecond ſycophantick addreſs, where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,

——————— "Behold,
"Nature aſham'd, or, better to expreſs,

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" Troubled that thou ſhould'ſt hunger, hath purvey'd
" From all the elements her choiceſt ſtore,
" To treat thee, as beſeems, and as her Lord,
" With honour."

The banquet (ver. 340.) compriſes every thing that Roman luxury, Eaſtern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetick fancy can ſupply; and, if compared with ſimilar deſcriptions in the Italian Poets, will be found much ſuperiour to them. In the concluding part of his invitation the virulence of the Arch-Fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a ſarcaſtick alluſion to the divine prohibition reſpecting the tree of knowledge; but he immediately reſumes his hypocritical ſervility, which much reſembles his language in the *ninth Book* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, when, in his addreſſes to Eve, " perſuaſive rhetorick ſleek'd his tongue." The three laſt lines are quite in this ſtyle;

" All theſe are Spirits of air, and woods, and ſprings,
" Thy gentle miniſters, who come to pay
" Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord."

Our Lord's reply is truly ſublime;

" I can at will, doubt not, as ſoon as thou,
" Command a table in the wilderneſs,
" And call ſwift flights of Angels miniſtrant,
" Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend."

This part of the Book in particular is ſo highly finiſhed, that I could wiſh it had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vaniſhing of the banquet. The preſent concluſion, from its ſubject, required another ſtyle of poetry. It has little deſcription, no machinery, and no mythological alluſions to elevate and adorn it; but it is not without a ſublimity of another kind. Satan's ſpeech, in which he aſſails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatneſs, is in a noble tone of dramatick dialogue; and the reply of our Saviour, where he rejects the offer, contains a ſeries of the fineſt moral precepts expreſſed in that plain majeſtick language, which, in many parts of Didactick Poetry, is the moſt becoming *veſtitus orationis*. Still it muſt be acknowledged, that all this is much loſt and obſcured by the radiance and enriched

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deſcriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. Theſe had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conſpicuous, from the ſtudied equality and ſcriptural plainneſs of the *exordium* of this Book; which has the effect deſcribed by Cicero to the *ſubordinate* and *leſs ſhining* parts of any writing, "quò magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur," *De Orator.* iii. 101. Ed. Prouſt. —But the concluſion of this Book, though excellent in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-poſition, appears to conſiderable diſadvantage. Writers of Didactick Poetry, to ſecure the continuance of their reader's attention, muſt be careful not only to diverſify, but as much as poſſible gradually to elevate, their ſtrain. Accordingly, they generally open their ſeveral diviſions with their dryer precepts, proceed then to more pleaſing illuſtrations, and are particularly ſtudious to cloſe each Book with ſome deſcription, or epiſode, of the moſt embelliſhed and attractive kind.—

Among the various beauties, which adorn this truly divine Poem, the moſt diſtinguiſhable and captivating feature of excellence is the character of Chriſt. This is ſo finely drawn, that we can ſcarcely forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, reſpecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous ſculptor Phidias; "cujus pulchritudo adjeciſſe aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videatur, adeò *majeſtas operis Deum æquavit.*" L. xii. C. 10. It is obſerved by Mr. Hayley, that as in the *Paradiſe Loſt* the poet ſeems to emulate the ſublimity of Moſes and the Prophets, it appears to have been his wiſh in the *Paradiſe Regained* to copy the ſweetneſs and ſimplicity of the Evangeliſts.—The great object of this ſecond Poem ſeems indeed to be the exemplification of true Evangelical Virtue, in the perſon and ſentiments of our Bleſſed Lord. From the beginning of the THIRD BOOK to ver. 363 of the next, practical Chriſtianity, thus perſoniſied, is contraſted with the boaſted pretenſions of the Heathen world, in its zenith of power, ſplendour, civilization, and knowledge; the ſeveral claims of which are fully ſtated, with much ornament of language and poetick decoration. After an exordium of flattering commendation addreſſed to our Lord, the Tempter opens his progreſſive diſplay of Heathen excellence with an eulogy on Glory (ver. 25.), which is ſo intrinſically beautiful, that it may be

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queſtioned whether any Roman orator or poet ever ſo eloquently and conciſely defended the ambition of heroiſm: The judgement of the Author may alſo be noticed (ver. 31, &c.) in the ſelection of his heroes, two of whom, Alexander and Scipio, he has before introduced (B. ii. 196, 199,) as examples of continency and ſelf-denial:—In ſhort, the firſt ſpeech of Satan opens the cauſe, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character.—In our Lord's reply, the *falſe* glory of worldly fame is ſtated with energetick briefneſs, and is oppoſed by the *true* glory of obedience to the Divine commands. The uſual modes of acquiring glory in the Heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next moſt forcibly depicted; and are finely contraſted with thoſe means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial:

> " But, if there be in glory aught of good,
> " It may by means far different be obtain'd,
> " Without ambition, war, or violence;
> " By deeds of peace, by wiſdom eminent,
> " By patience, temperance."

Theſe lines are marked with that peculiar ſpecies of beauty, which diſtinguiſhes Virgil's deſcription of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elyſium, together with his blameleſs warriours, the virtuous defenders of their country, Æn. vi. 660—665.

In the concluſion of the ſpeech an heroical character of another kind is oppoſed to the warlike heroes of antiquity;—one who, though a Heathen, ſurpaſſed them all in true wiſdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, ſuch his reliance on Divine Providence and his reſignation thereto, that he ſeems to have imbibed his ſentiments from a ſource " above the famed Caſtalian ſpring;" and while his demeanour eminently diſplays the peaceable, patient, Chriſtian-like virtues, his language often approaches nearer than could be imagined, to that of the holy penmen, " Ει ταυτη Θεω φιλον," ſays he, " ταυτη γενεσθω." Epictet. ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒ. L. i. C. 29.——The artful ſophiſtry of the Tempter's further defence of glory, and our Lord's majeſtically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him,—are both

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admirable.—The reſt of the Dialogue is well ſupported; and it is wound up, with the beſt effect, in the concluding ſpeech, where Satan offers a vindicatory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the Arch-angel, (for, though "ruined," the Satan of Milton ſeldom "appears leſs than an Arch-angel,") is happily combined with the inſinuating art and "fleeked tongue" of this grand Deceiver. The firſt nineteen lines are peculiarly illuſtrative of this double character: The tranſition that follows to the immediate Temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the enſuing change of ſcene, is managed with the happieſt addreſs.—The poet now quits mere Dialogue for that "union of the narrative and dramatick powers," which Dr. Johnſon, ſpeaking of this Poem, obſerves "muſt ever be more pleaſing than a dialogue without action."—The deſcription of the "ſpecular mount," where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the ſame time that it is truly poetical, is ſo accurately given, that we are enabled to aſcertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the poet had in his mind. The geographical ſcene, from ver. 268 to 292, is delineated with a preciſion that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Dr. Newton remarks, far ſurpaſſes the proſpect of the kingdoms of the world from "the mount of viſion," in the *eleventh Book* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*. The military expedition of the Parthians, from ver. 300 to 336, is a picture in the boldeſt and moſt maſterly ſtyle. It is ſo perfectly *unique* in its kind, that I know not where in Poetry, ancient or modern, to go for any thing materially reſembling it. The *fifteenth Book* of Taſſo's *Jeruſalem*, &c, (where the two Chriſtian Knights, who are ſent in ſearch of Rinaldo, ſee a great part of the habitable world, and are ſhown a numerous camp of their enemies,) does not appear to have furniſhed a ſingle idea to our Author, either in his geographical, or his military, ſcene.——The ſpeech of Satan, (ver. 346.) profeſſing the purpoſe why he ſhowed all this to Jeſus, judiciouſly reverts to the immediate ſubject of the Temptation; and, by urging our Lord to avail himſelf of the Parthian power, that he might gain poſſeſſion of David's throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to thoſe patriotick feelings which he had expreſſed in the *Firſt Book* of this Poem, where he declares that one of his earlieſt ſentiments of virtue, *more than human*, was marked with a wiſh "To reſcue Iſraël from the

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Roman yoke." Our Lord's reply is close and pointed, and serves further to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue.—The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this Book, as against that of the preceding one;—by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendour of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is however a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the Poem. An essential test of its merit is, that, however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.

It has been observed of almost all the great epick poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. The six last books of the *Æneid*, and the twelve last of the *Odyssey*, have been thought inferiour to the preceding parts of those poems. In the *Paradise Lost* the two last books fall short of the majesty and sublimity of the rest: and so, observes Dr. Newton, do the two last books of the *Iliad*. "With the fall of our first parents," says Dr. Blair, "Milton's genius seems to decline:" and though he admits the Angel's showing Adam the fate of his posterity to be happily imagined, "the execution," he adds, is "languid." Addison, in pointing out the particular beauties of the two last books of the *Paradise Lost*, observes that, though *these* were not looked upon as the most shining books of the poem, they ought not to be considered as *unequal parts* of it.—Perhaps the two concluding books of the *Paradise Lost* might be * defended by other arguments, and justified in a more effectual manner, than has been done by Addison; but it is certainly fortunate when the subject and plan of an epick poem are such, that in the conclusion it may rise in dignity and sublimity, so as to excite to the very last the attention and admiration of the reader.—This last Book of the *Paradise Regained* is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be produced. The Book of Job, which I have supposed to have been our Author's model, materially resembles it in this respect, and is perhaps the only instance that can be put in competition with it.——It has been remarked that there is not a single simile in the *First Iliad*: neither do we meet with one in the *three first Books of the Paradise Regained*. In the beginning of the FOURTH BOOK the

* [See Mr. Dunster's defence of them in the concluding note on Par. Lost.]

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poet introduces an *Homerick* cluſter of ſimilies; which ſeems to mark an intention of beſtowing more poetical decoration on the concluſion of the Poem, than on the preceding parts of it. —They who talk of our Author's genius being in the decline when he wrote his ſecond Poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry proſaick compoſition, are, I will venture to ſay, no judges of poetry. With a fancy, ſuch as Milton's, it muſt have been more difficult to forbear poetick decorations, than to furniſh them; and a glaring profuſion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the *poeta ſeneſcens*, than a want of it. The *firſt* book of the *Paradiſe Loſt* abounds in ſimilies, and is, in other reſpects, as elevated and ſublime as any in the whole poem. But here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be ſaid of the *Paradiſe Regained*, as Longinus has ſaid of the *Odyſſey*, that it is the *epilogue* of the preceding poem, ſtill the deſign and conduct of it is as different, as that of the *Georgicks* from the *Æneid*. The *Paradiſe Regained* has ſomething of the *didactick* character; it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero, but has alſo many poſitive precepts every where interſperſed. It is written for the moſt part in a ſtyle admirably condenſed, and with a ſtudied reſerve of ornament: it is nevertheleſs illuminated with beauties of the moſt captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence of compoſition," which, as Lord Monboddo juſtly obſerves, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the writings of the ancients; and in which, of all modern authors, Milton moſt reſembles them.

At the commencement of this Book the argument of the Poem is conſiderably advanced. Satan appears hopeleſs of ſucceſs, but ſtill perſiſting in his enterpriſe. The deſperate folly, and vain pertinacity, of this conduct, are perfectly well exemplified and illuſtrated by three appoſite ſimilies, each ſucceſſively riſing in beauty above the other. The buſineſs of the Temptation being thus reſumed, the Tempter takes our Lord to the weſtern ſide of the mountain, and ſhows to him Italy; the ſituation of which the poet marks with ſingular accuracy, and, having traced the Tiber from its ſource in the Appennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates the moſt conſpicuous objects that may be ſuppoſed at firſt to ſtrike the eye on a diſtant view of this celebrated city. Satan now becomes the Speaker, and, in an admirably deſcriptive

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ſpeech, points out more particularly the magnificent publick and private buildings of ancient Rome, deſcanting on the ſplendour and power of its ſtate, which he particularly exemplifies in the ſuperb pomp with which their provincial magiſtrates proceed to their reſpective governments; and in the numerous ambaſſadours that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to ſolicit the protection of Rome and the emperour. Theſe are two pictures of the moſt highly finiſhed kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we abſolutely ſee

> " Prætors, proconſuls, to their provinces
> " Haſting, or on return, in robes of ſtate,
> " Lictors and rods, the enſigns of their power,
> " Legions and cohorts, &c."

Having obſerved that ſuch a power as this of Rome muſt reaſonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had diſplayed in the preceding Book, and that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention, the Tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpoſe: by a ſtrongly drawn deſcription of the vicious and deteſtable character of Tiberius, he ſhows how eaſy it would be to expel him, to take poſſeſſion of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that ſlavery in which they were then held. This he proffers to accompliſh for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer not only from a principle of ambition, but as the beſt means of ſecuring to himſelf his promiſed inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord in reply ſcarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occaſion, from the deſcription which had been given of the ſplendour and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the ſuperlatively extravagant luxury of the Romans, (poſſibly not without a glance at the manners of our Court at that time,) and briefly to ſum up thoſe vices and miſconducts then rapidly advancing to their height, which ſoon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall, of the Roman power.———The next object, which our Author had in view in his propoſed diſplay of Heathen excellence, was a ſcene of a different, but no leſs intoxicating, kind; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philoſophy. But he ſeems to have been well aware that an immediate tranſition, from the view of Rome to that of Athens, muſt have diminiſhed the effect of each

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The intermediate ſpace he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the ſplendid ſcene diſplayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the Heathen world, in the concluſion of his ſpeech marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by ſupernatural means ſhould deſtroy "all monarchies beſides throughout the world."

The Fiend hereupon, urged by the violence of his deſperation to an indiſcretion, which he had not before ſhowed, endeavours to enhance the value of his offers by declaring that the only terms, on which he would beſtow them, were thoſe of our Lord's falling down and worſhipping him. To this our Saviour anſwers in a ſpeech of marked abhorrence blended with contempt. This draws from Satan a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the Poem; in which he endeavours, by an artful juſtification of himſelf, to repair the indiſcretion of his blaſphemous propoſal, and to ſoften the effect of it on our Bleſſed Lord, ſo far at leaſt as to be enabled to reſume the proceſs of his enterpriſe. The tranſition, ver. 212, to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy: having given up all proſpect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now compliments him on his predilection for wiſdom, and his early diſplay of ſuperiour knowledge; and recommends it to him, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing his profeſſed deſign of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philoſophy for which the moſt poliſhed part of the Heathen world, and Greece in particular, was ſo eminent. This leads to his *View of Athens*; which is given, with ſingular effect, after the preceding dialogue, where the blaſphemous rage of the Tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it, ſerve, by the variety of the ſubject and the intereſting nature of the circumſtance, materially to relieve the preceding and enſuing deſcriptions. The Tempter, reſuming his uſual plauſibility of language, now becomes the Hierophant of the ſcene, which he deſcribes, as he ſhows it, with ſo much accuracy, that we diſcern every object diſtinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its moſt celebrated buildings and places of learned reſort, is beautiful and original; and the deſcription of its muſicians, poets, orators, and philoſophers, is given with the hand of a maſter, and with all the fond affection of an enthuſiaſt in Greek literature. Our Lord's reply is no leſs ad-

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mirable; particularly where he displays the fallacy of the Heathen philosophy, and points out the errours of its most admired sects, with the greatest acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry. His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this Poem; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our Author, that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding *eloge* on heathen literature. The next speech of the Tempter, ver. 368, is one of those masterpieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our Blessed Lord are therein foretold with an energetick brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superiour to the most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes, ver. 394, &c. our Lord's being conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the Tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded:—how exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!——Yet this is the Poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage, of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry!——The dialogue which ensues, is worthy of this Book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding Temptation. The last speech of Satan is particularly deserving our notice. The Fiend, now "swoln with rage" at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult, professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in further attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the Tempter: The general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect.—We now come to

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the cataſtrophe of the Poem.——The Tempter conveys our Bleſſed Lord to the temple at Jeruſalem; where the deſcription of the holy city, and of the temple, is pleaſingly drawn. Satan has now little to ſay; he brings the queſtion to a deciſive point, in which any perſuaſion of rhetorical language on his part can be of no avail; he therefore ſpeaks in his own undiſguiſed perſon and character, and his language accordingly is that of ſcornful inſult. The reſult of the trial is given with the utmoſt brevity; and its conſequences are admirably painted. The deſpair and fall of Satan, with its ſucceſſive illuſtrations, ver. 562 to ver. 580, have all the boldneſs of Salvator Roſa; while the Angels ſupporting our Lord, "as on a floating couch, through the blithe air," is a ſweetly pleaſing and highly finiſhed picture from the pencil of Guido. The refreſhment miniſtered to our Lord by the Angels is an intended and ſtriking contraſt to the luxurious banquet with which he had been tempted in the preceding part of the Poem. The Angelick Hymn, which concludes the Book, is at once poetical and ſcriptural: We may juſtly apply to it, and to this whole Poem, an obſervation, which Fuller, in his *Worthies of Eſſex*, firſt applied to Quarles, and which the ingenious Mr. Headley, in the *Biographical Sketches* prefixed to his *Select Beauties of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, has tranſferred to the only poet to whom it is truly appropriate: "To mix the waters of Jordan and Helicon in the ſame cup, was reſerved for the hand of Milton; and for him, and him only, to find the bays of Mount Olivet equally verdant with thoſe of Parnaſſus." It may further be obſerved that Milton is himſelf an eminent inſtance of one of his own obſervations in his *Tractate of Education*; having practically demonſtrated, what he invites the juvenile ſtudent in Poetry theoretically to learn, "what religious, what glorious, and magnificent uſe might be made of Poetry." DUNSTER.

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Origin of Paradiſe Regained.

The origin of this Poem is attributed to the ſuggeſtion of Ellwood the quaker. Milton had lent this friend, in 1665, his Paradiſe Loſt, then completed in manuſcript, at Chalfont St. Giles; deſiring him to peruſe it at his leiſure, and give his judgement of it. On returning the Poem, Milton aſked him what he thought of it: "which I modeſtly, but freely told him," ſays Ellwood in his Life of himſelf; "and, after ſome further diſcourſe about it, I pleaſantly ſaid to him, 'Thou haſt ſaid much of *Paradiſe Loſt*, but what haſt thou to ſay of *Paradiſe Found*?' He made me no anſwer, but ſat ſome time in a muſe; then broke off that diſcourſe, and fell upon another ſubject." When Ellwood afterwards waited on him in London, Milton ſhowed him his PARADISE REGAINED; and, "in a pleaſant tone," ſaid to him, "*This is owing to you*; for you put it into my head by the queſtion you put me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of."

On this ſubject the Muſes had not been before ſilent. In our own language, Bale has given us "*A Breſe Comedy, or Enterlude, concernynge the Temptacyon of our Lorde and Saver Jeſus Chriſt by Sathan in the Deſart*, 1538." Milton might have noticed this ancient drama; of which an intereſting account is given by my friend the Rev. W. Beloe, in the firſt volume of his valuable Anecdotes of Literature, to which the concluſion of the drama is ſubjoined. My friend had been favoured with the uſe of this ſcarce book by a moſt intelligent and learned poſſeſſor of literary curioſities, Francis Douce, Eſq. to whoſe kindneſs I am indebted for the liberty of making further extracts from it; with which I truſt to gratify the curious reader. I ſelect part of the ſoliloquy of Satan, and of the dialogue between our Lord and him, ſign. D. i. b. D. ij. a.

"*Satan tentator.*

"I hearde a great noyſe in Jordane now of late,
"Vpon one Jeſus, ſoundynge from heauen aboue:
"Thys is myne owne ſonne whych hath withdrawne al hate,
"And he that doth ſtande moſt hyghly in my loue.
"My wyttes the ſame ſounde doth not a lyttle moue:

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" He cometh to redeme the kynde of Man I feare,
" Hygh tyme is it than for me the cooles to ſteare.
" I wyll not leaue hym *tyll I knowe what he ys,*
" And what he entendeth in thys ſame border heare.
" Subtyltie muſt helpe, els all wyll be amys;
" *A godly pretence outwardly muſt I beare,*
" *Semynge relygyouſe, deuoute, and ſad in my geare.*
" If he be come now for the redempcyon of Man,
" As I feare he is, I wyll ſtoppe hym if I can.

" *Hic, ſimulata religione, Chriſtum aggreditur.*

" It is a grat ioye, by my holydome, to ſe
" So vertuouſe a lyfe in a yonge man as yow be:
" As here thus to wander in godly contemplacyon,
" And to lyue alone in the deſart ſolytarye.

Jeſus Chriſtus.

" Your pleaſure is it to vtter your fantaſye.

Satan tentator.

" A brother am I of thys deſart wylderneſſe,
" And full glad wolde be to talke with yow of goodneſſe,
" If ye wolde accept my ſymple companye.

Jeſus Chriſtus.

" I diſdayne nothynge, which is of God trulye.

Satan tentator.

" Than wyll I be bolde a lyttle with you to walke."

I have only to obſerve that Satan here aſſumes a religious habit, or in other words is a hermit, as he himſelf relates, ſign. D. iij. b.

" Scriptures I knowe non; for I am but an hermyte, I;
" I maye ſaye to yow, it is no part of our ſtody:
" We relygyouſe men lyue all in contemplacyon;
" Scriptures to ſtodye, is not our occupacyon."

Such is the garb in which Milton, and other writers alſo, array him on this occaſion, as we ſhall preſently ſee. But I proceed to Satan's temptation, in which (as in Milton more diffuſely the *charms of women* and the *pleaſures of the table* are propoſed, ſign. E. i. b. E. ij. a.

" Lo, how ſaye ye now, is not here a pleſaunt ſyght?
" If ye wyll, ye maye haue here all the worldes delyght.

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" Here is to be ſeene the kyngedome of Arabye,
" With all the regyons of Affryck, Europe, and Aſye,
" And their whole delyghtes, their pompe, their magnificence,
" Their ryches, their honour, their welth, their concupyſcence.
" Here is golde and ſyluer in wonderfull habundaunce,
" Silkes, veluetes, tiſſues, *with wynes and ſpyces of pleſaunce.*
" *Here are fayre women, of countenance ameable,*
" *With all kyndes of meates to the body dylectable,* &c."

After the ineffectual attempts of Satan, the angels come and miniſter to our Saviour, concluding,

" Our maner is it moſt hyghlye to reioyce
" Whan Man hath comfort, whych we now declare in voyce.

" *Hic dulce canticum coram Chriſto depromunt.*"

In 1611 Giles Fletcher publiſhed *Chriſt's Victorie and Triumph;* an elegant and impreſſive poem in four parts, of which the ſecond, entitled *Chriſt's Triumph on Earth,* deſcribes the Temptation. But to this poem the *Paradiſe Regained* owes little obligation. Perhaps the Italian Muſe might afford a hint. In the following ſacred poem, conſiſting of ten books, " La Humanita del Figlivolo di Dio, in ottaua rima, per Theofilo Folengo, Mantoano. Venegia, 1533," 4.°, the fourth book treats largely of the Temptation: from which I will cite the deſcriptive ſcene, after the Devil has tempted our Lord, and has been rebuked with the reply " Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, &c."

" Al ſuon di tanta, et tal ſententia un grido
" Laſcia co 'l puzzo Satanoſo, et ſgombra,
" Mà d' Angeletti biondi un ſtolo fido
" Ecco à la menſa l' inuitar ſott' ombra,
" Quiui la fame sù l' herboſo lido,
" Che ſol l' humanità del figlio ingombra,
" Diſtrutta ſù dapo 'l digiun ſofferto,
" Per ſuo non già, ma ben per noſtro merto."

There had been publiſhed alſo at Venice, in 1518, " La Vita et Paſſione di Chriſto, &c. compoſta per Antonio Cornozano. In terza rima." The ſubject of the ſixth chapter of the firſt book is the Temptation: to which is prefixed a wooden cut, wherein Satan is repreſented as an old man with a long beard,

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offering bread to our Lord. The Tempter indeed is an *aged man*, like the Tempter of Milton, in Viſcher's cuts to the Bible, as noticed by Mr. Thyer; and in Salvator Roſa's fine painting of the Temptation, as noticed by Mr. Dunſter. See the Life of Milton in the firſt volume. The Devil is alſo repreſented in a monaſtick habit by Luca Giordano, in a picture of the Temptation, which made a part of the Duſſeldorp collection. But poetry likewiſe ſeems to have painted, not ſeldom, the *gray diſſimulation* of the Tempter in ſimilar colours. Giles Fletcher exhibits him diſguiſed as a hermit, approaching our Saviour:

" At length an aged ſire far off he [our Saviour] ſaw
" Come ſlowly footing, &c."

And this deſcription is probably indebted to Spenſer's Archimago, whoſe character and appearance might alſo be in Milton's remembrance. See *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 29.

" At length they chaunſt to meet upon the way
" An aged ſire, in long blacke weeds yclad, &c."

See alſo *F. Q.* i. vi. 35. Milton draws the Tempter in the habit of an aged Franciſcan in his admirable verſes *In Quint. Novembris.* In the *Trag. Hiſt. of Dr. Fauſtus*, 1616, the magician thus addreſſes the Devil:

" Goe, and returne an *old Franciſcan frier;*
" That holy ſhape becomes a Deuill beſt!"

There is a poem, entitled " Monachos mentiti Daemones," in Wierus *De Præſtigiis Dæmonum*, Baſil, 1583, p. 84. in which the aſſumed diſguiſe is ſomewhat ſimilar:

" Ecce per obſcuræ tenebroſa crepuſcula noctis
" Obtulit ignoti ſe noua forma viri.
" *Atro tectus erat monachum ſimulante cucullo,*
" *Vtque ſolent raſo vertice tonſus erat.*"

In Roſs's deſcription of the Temptation, *Chriſtiados* lib. viii. ed. 1638. p. 178, he is alſo thus painted, by the adaptation of Virgilian phraſes:

" His actis, deſerta petit ſpælæa ferarum:
" Hîc inter vaſtas rupes, atque horrida luſtra,
" Vſque quater denis jejunia longa diebus
" Pertulit, et totidem ſine victu noctibus ullo:

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" Hîc ad radices ſcopuli deſeſſus Iëſus
" Conſedit, ſtygiis expectans ſedibus *hoſtem.*——
—— " interea [Satan] *ſeſe transformat in ora*
" *Terribili ſqualore ſenis, cui plurima mento*
" *Canities inculta jacet,* &c.
" Sordidus ex humero nodo dependet amictus,
" Et frontem obſcenam rugis arat."

There is an Italian poem, which I have not ſeen, entitled *Il Digiuno di Chriſto nel Deſerto* by Giovanni Nizzoli, dated in 1611. And I obſerve alſo among the works of P. Antonio Glielmo (who died in 1644), enumerated by Craſſo in his " Elogii d' huomini letterati," *Il Calvario Laureato, Poema:* a kindred ſubject perhaps with that of *Paradiſe Regained;* the mention of which Italian title induces us to acknowledge, with gratitude, the exiſtence of a *Calvary* in our own poetry; of which the plan is the faultleſs plan of a Paradiſe regained; the ſpirit is truly Miltonick; and the language, at the ſame time, original. By the obſervation of an eminent Engliſhman we may indeed be led to ſuppoſe that Italy ſuggeſted, in ſome degree, the idea of *Paradiſe Regained,* as well as of * *Paradiſe Loſt*; for thus the writer ſpeaks, at no great lapſe of time from Milton's death, in deſcribing † Florence:

" *Hinc* quoque Miltoni deductum *Nobile Carmen,*
" Atque *Paradiſi forma reſumpta ſui.*" TODD.

* See the reaſons for ſuppoſing Italy to have excited Milton's deſign of writing Paradiſe Loſt, in the Inquiry into the Origin of that Poem, in the ſecond volume of this edition.

† From H. Newton's (the Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Tuſcany, at the commencement of the laſt century,) *Epiſtolæ, Orationes, et Carmina,* &c. 4to. Lucæ, 1710. Carm. p. 13. In Mortem Stephani Waller, &c. Elegia, 1707. See this book noticed in the Liſt of Italian tranſlations of Miltonis poetry in the firſt volume of this edition.

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THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

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THE ARGUMENT. (a)

The Subject propoſed. Invocation of the Holy Spirit. —The Poem opens with John baptizing at the river Jordan. Jeſus coming there is baptized; and is atteſted, by the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, and by a voice from Heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is preſent, upon this immediately flies up into the regions of the air: where, ſummoning his Infernal Council, he acquaints them with his apprehenſions that Jeſus is that ſeed of the Woman, deſtined to deſtroy all their power; and points out to them the immediate neceſſity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting, by ſnares and fraud, to counteract and defeat the perſon, from whom they have ſo much to dread. This office he offers himſelf to undertake; and, his offer being accepted, ſets out on his enterpriſe.—In the mean time God, in the aſſembly of holy Angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretels that the Tempter ſhall be completely defeated by him:—upon which the Angels ſing a hymn of triumph. Jeſus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderneſs, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of Mankind. Purſuing his meditations he narrates, in a ſoliloquy, what divine and philanthropick impulſes he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother Mary, on perceiving theſe diſpoſitions in him, had acquainted him with the circumſtances of his birth, and informed him that he was no leſs

(a) No edition of Paradiſe Regained had ever appeared with Arguments to the Books, before that which was publiſhed in 1795 by Mr. Dunſter; from which they are adopted in this edition. Peck indeed endeavoured to ſupply the deficiency, in his Memoirs of Milton, 1740, p. 70, &c. But the arguments, which he has there given, are too diffuſe; and want that conciſeneſs and energy which diſtinguiſh Mr. Dunſter's. TODD.

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a perſon than the Son of God; to which he adds what his own inquiries and reflections had ſupplied in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent atteſtation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord paſſes forty days, faſting, in the wilderneſs; where the wild beaſts become mild and harmleſs in his preſence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peaſant; and enters into diſcourſe with our Lord, wondering what could have brought him alone into ſo dangerous a place, and at the ſame time profeſſing to recognize him for the perſon lately acknowledged by John, at the river Jordan, to be the Son of God. Jeſus briefly replies. Satan rejoins with a deſcription of the difficulty of ſupporting life in the wilderneſs; and entreats Jeſus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifeſt his divine power, by changing ſome of the ſtones into bread. Jeſus reproves him, and at the ſame time tells him that he knows who he is. Satan inſtantly avows himſelf, and offers an artful apology for himſelf and his conduct. Our bleſſed Lord ſeverely reprimands him, and refutes every part of his juſtification. Satan, with much ſemblance of humility, ſtill endeavours to juſtify himſelf; and, profeſſing his admiration of Jeſus and his regard for virtue, requeſts to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his converſation; but is anſwered, that this muſt be as he ſhall find permiſſion from above. Satan then diſappears, and the Book cloſes with a ſhort deſcription of night coming on in the deſart.

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PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I, who ere while the happy garden sung
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,

Ver. 1. *I, who ere while the happy garden sung*
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,] This is plainly an allusion to the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. attributed to Virgil. Thus also Spenser:

"Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,
"As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
"Am now enforc'd, a far unfitter task,
"For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c."

NEWTON.

Ver. 2. By one Man's disobedience &c.] "*For as by* ONE MAN'S DISOBEDIENCE *many were made sinners; so by* THE OBEDIENCE OF ONE *shall many be made righteous,*" Rom. v. 19.

NEWTON.

Ver. 3. *Recover'd Paradise*] It may seem a little odd, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion, &c. But the reason no doubt was, that Paradise, *regained* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise, *lost* by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing spirit. Besides he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too

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By one Man's firm obedience fully tried
Through all temptation, and the Tempter foil'd
In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd,
And Eden rais'd in the waſte wilderneſs.

long for the ſhort term of years he could then hope for. Even in his Paradiſe Loſt he expreſſes his fears, leſt he had begun too late, and leſt *an age too late, or cold climate, or years, ſhould have damped his intended wing;* and ſurely he had much greater cauſe to dread the ſame now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far. THYER.

Ver. 7. *And Eden rais'd in the waſte wilderneſs.*] There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one conſiders the fine alluſion in it to the curſe brought upon the Paradiſiacal earth by the fall of Adam: "*Curſed is the ground for thy ſake: Thorns alſo and thiſtles ſhall it bring forth to thee.*" THYER.

In the fourth book of this poem, (ver. 523) we have,

"And follow'd thee ſtill on to this *waſte wild.*"

Waſte, or *waſteful*, is an epithet which our author had annexed to *wilderneſs*, at an early period of his life. Thus in his *tranſlation* of the cxxxvith *Pſalm*, written when he was only fifteen, he has

"His choſen people he did bleſs
"In the *waſteful* wilderneſs."

In that inſtance, perhaps, he borrowed the whole phraſe from his favourite Spenſer: *Fuer. Qu.* i. i. 32.

"Far hence (quoth he) *in waſteful wilderneſs*
"His dwelling is"——

But the expreſſion and the application of it, in this place, were evidently taken from a paſſage in *Iſaiah*, li. 3. "The Lord ſhall comfort Zion, he will comfort all her *waſte places*, and he will make her *wilderneſs like Eden*, and her *deſart like the garden of the Lord.*" From whence Pope alſo, in his *Eloiſa to Abelard*:

"You rais'd theſe hallow'd walls, the deſart ſmil'd,
"And *Paradiſe was open'd in the wild.*" DUNSTER.

I may add that the preciſe expreſſion here uſed by Milton, is from Spenſer's tranſlation of Virgil's *Culex*:

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Thou Spirit, who ledſt this glorious eremite
Into the deſart, his victorious field,
Againſt the ſpiritual foe, and brought'ſt him thence
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inſpire,

" I carried am to a *waſte wilderneſſe*,
" *Waſte wilderneſſe* among Cymmerian ſhades."

And it occurs in the romance of *Palmerin of England*, 4to. vol. 1. bl. l. ſ. d. chap. 93. " The places of moſt renowne in this empire ſhall be changed to a *waſte* and deſolate *wilderneſſe*."

TODD.

Ver. 8. *Thou Spirit, who ledſt this glorious eremite*
Into the deſart, his victorious field, &c.] This invocation is ſo ſupremely beautiful, that it is hardly poſſible to give the preference even to that in the opening of the Paradiſe Loſt. This has the merit of more conciſeneſs. Diffuſeneſs may be conſidered as leſſening the dignity of invocations on ſuch ſubjects.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *who ledſt this glorious* eremite
Into the deſart,——] It is ſaid, *Mat.* iv. 1. "*Then was Jeſus led up of the ſpirit into the wilderneſs to be tempted of the devil.*" And from the Greek original ἔρημος the deſart, and ἐρημίτης an inhabitant of the deſart, is rightly formed the word *eremite*; which was uſed before by Milton in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iii. 474. And by Fairfax, in his tranſlation of Taſſo, c. xi. ſt. iv. And in Italian, as well as in Latin, there is *eremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *hermite*, *hermit*.

NEWTON.

Heremite, or *eremite*, had been a very common ſpelling, both in poetry and proſe, before Milton's time. TODD.

Ver. 11. ——— *inſpire*,
As thou art wont, my prompted ſong, elſe mute;] See the very fine opening of the ninth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, and alſo his invocation of *Urania*, at the beginning of the ſeventh Book. And in the introduction to the ſecond book of *The Reaſon of Church-Government urged againſt Prelacy*, where he

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As thou art wont, my prompted ſong, elſe mute;
And bear, through highth or depth of Nature's bounds,

promiſes to undertake ſomething, he yet knows not what, that may be of uſe and honour to his country, he adds; "This is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and ſends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify whom he pleaſes."—Here then we ſee, that Milton's invocations of the Divine ſpirit were not merely *exordia pro formâ*.—Indeed his proſe works are not without their invocations. Compare alſo Taſſo, *Il Mondo Creato*, Giorn. prim.

——— "e langue
"Se non m' inſpiri tu, la voce, e 'l ſuono."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 12. ——— *my prompted ſong, elſe mute;*] Milton's third wife, who ſurvived him many years, related of him, that he uſed to compoſe his poetry chiefly in winter; and on his waking in a morning would make her write down ſometimes twenty or thirty verſes. Being aſked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, ſhe underſtood it as an imputation upon him for ſtealing from thoſe authors, and anſwered with eagerneſs, "he ſtole from nobody but the Muſe who inſpired him;" and, being aſked by a lady preſent who the Muſe was, replied, "it was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that viſited him nightly." *Newton's Life of Milton.* Mr. Richardſon alſo ſays, that "Milton would ſometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verſe could he make; and on a ſudden his poetical fancy would ruſh upon him with an *impetus* or *æſtrum*." *Johnſon's Life of Milton.*

Elſe mute might have been ſuggeſted by a paſſage of Horace's moſt beautiful ode to the Muſe, IV. iii.

"O teſtudinis aureæ ———
"Dulcem quæ ſtrepitum, Pierî, temperas!
"O *mutis* quoque *piſcibus*
"Donatura *cygni*, ſi libeat, *ſonum*!

Or from Quinctilian; ——"ipſam igitur orandi majeſtatem, quâ nihil dii immortales melius homini dederunt, et quâ remotâ

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With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds
Above heroick, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age,
Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.
Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried
Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
To all baptiz'd: To his great baptism flock'd

muta sunt omnia, et luce præsenti et memoriâ posteritatis carent, toto animo petamus." L. xii. 11. DUNSTER.

Ver. 14. *With prosperous wing full summ'd,*] We have the like expression in *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 421, "They *summ'd* their pens;" and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers are grown, when he wants nothing of the *sum* of his feathers, "*cui nihil de* SUMMA *pennarum deest*," as Skinner says. NEWTON.

Milton had perhaps the following passage of Drayton in mind, *Polyolbion*, Song xi.

"The *Muse* from Cambria comes with *pinions fledg'd* and found." TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *to tell of deeds*
Above heroick,] Thus Milton conceived the subject of *Paradise Lost* to be of much greater dignity and difficulty than the argument of Homer and Virgil. See *Par. L.* ix. 13. See also B. i. 13, i. 24, iii. 3, ix. 27, &c. But, as Richardson observes, the poet here confines himself to "Nature's bounds;" not as in the *Par. Lost*, where he soars "above the visible diurnal sphere." Compare what our author says of subjects for epick poetry, in his Church Government, *Pr. W.* i. 60. ed. 1698, where a "*Christian hero*" seems to be his choice; when he was a much younger man, about thirty years old. T. WARTON.

Ver. 18. ——————— *with a voice*
More awful than the sound of trumpet,] "Lift up *thy voice like a trumpet*, and shew my people their transgressions." *Isaiah*, lviii. 1. And see *Heb.* xii. 18, 19. DUNSTER.

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With awe the regions round, and with them came
From Nazareth the ſon of Joſeph deem'd
To the flood Jordan; came, as then obſcure,
Unmark'd, unknown; but him the Baptiſt ſoon
Deſcried, divinely warn'd, and witneſs bore
As to his worthier, and would have reſign'd
To him his heavenly office; nor was long

Ver. 24. *To the flood Jordan; came,* &c.] This line is corruptly pointed both by Tickell and Fenton, after Tonſon:

"To the flood Jordan came, as then obſcure,"

But, as Dr. Newton obſerves, Milton's own pointing is emphatick, and worthy of repetition; "*came* with them to the flood Jordan," and "*came*, as then obſcure." TODD.

Ver. 25. ——— *but him the Baptiſt ſoon*
Deſcried, divinely warn'd,] John the Baptiſt had notice given him before, that he might certainly know the Meſſiah by the Holy Ghoſt deſcending and abiding upon him, "*And I knew him not, but he that ſent me to baptize with water, the ſame ſaid unto me, Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending and remaining on him, the ſame is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt,*" John i. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew, that the Baptiſt knew him, and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and before the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon him, *Mat.* iii. 14. "*I have need to be baptized of thee, and comeſt thou to me?*" To account for which we muſt admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him at this very time, ſignifying that this was the perſon, of whom he had ſuch notice before. NEWTON.

Ver. 26. ——— *divinely warn'd,*] To comprehend the propriety of this word *divinely*, the reader muſt have his eye upon the Latin DIVINITUS, *from Heaven*, ſince the word *divinely* in our language ſcarce ever comes up to this meaning. Milton uſes it in much the ſame ſenſe in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. vii. 500.

"She heard me thus, and though *divinely* brought."

THYER.

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His witness unconfirm'd: On him baptiz'd
Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From Heaven pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
About the world, at that assembly fam'd
Would not be last, and, with the voice divine
Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted Man, to whom
Such high attest was given, a while survey'd
With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To council summons all his mighty peers,
Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
A gloomy consistory; and them amidst,

Ver. 33. ——— *who, roving still*
About the world,] "And the Lord said unto Satan, whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, *From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.*" Job i. 7. See also 1 *Pet.* v. 8. DUNSTER.

Ver. 36. ——— *the exalted Man, to whom*
Such high attest was given, &c.] The description how Satan is affected by this divine attestation of Jesus, is admirable. His involuntary admiration is consistent with his knowledge of what is good and amiable; (see ver. 379.) his envy and rage are truly Satanick, and becoming his character of the enemy of all good. DUNSTER.

Ver. 41. *Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,*] Milton, in making Satan's residence to be *in mid air, within thick clouds and dark*, seems to have St. Austin in his eye, who, speaking of the region of clouds, storms, thunder, &c. says—"ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc aërem, tanquam ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus, &c." *Enarr. in Ps.* 148. S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677. Edit. Bened. THYER.

Ver. 42. *A gloomy consistory;*] This is an imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 677;

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With looks aghaſt and ſad, he thus beſpake.

" Cernimus aſtantes nequicquam lumine torvo
" Ætnæos fratres, cœlo capita alta ferentes,
" *Concilium horrendum.*"

By the word *conſiſtory*, I ſuppoſe Milton intends to glance at the meeting of the Pope and Cardinals ſo named, or perhaps at the epiſcopal tribunal, to all which ſorts of courts or aſſemblies he was an avowed enemy. The phraſe *concilium horrendum* Vida makes uſe of upon a like occaſion of aſſembling the infernal Powers, *Chriſt.* lib. 1.

" Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres
" Limina, *concilium horrendum.*"

And Taſſo alſo, in the very ſame manner; *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. ſt. 2.

" Che ſia commanda il popol ſuo raccolto
" (*Concilio horrendo*) entro la regia ſoglia." THYER.

Gloomy conſiſtory is ſimilar to the deſcription of the ſame infernal council in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, where Milton terms them a *dark divan*;

" Forth ruſh'd in haſte the great conſulting peers,
" Rais'd from their *dark divan.*" DUNSTER.

Conſiſtory was the uſual word in our elder poetry for an aſſembly; as in Hawes's *Paſtime of Pleaſure*, bl. l. 1554, ſpeaking of Venus's court and temple, cap. xxix.

" The temple of her royall *conſiſtory*
" Was walled all about with yvorye."

And in Browne's *Brit. Paſt.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

" In Heauen's *conſiſtory* 'twas decreed."

However, ſee *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, written by W. Watſon, a ſecular prieſt; who, expoſing the deſigns of the Jeſuits in regard to the ſubjugation of England, ſays, that " their deepe Jeſuiticall court of Parliament began at Styx in Phlegeton," and that " the ſecond act enacted, or ſtatute made, in that high *infernall* CONSISTORIE, was concerning the Church and Abbey lands, &c." pp. 92, 93. It is not improbable, that Phineas Fletcher might hence have taken the idea with which he

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O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,

opens his animated poem, entitled *Locustæ vel Pietas Jesuitica*, 4to. Cantab. 1627.

" Panditur Inferni limen, patet intima Ditis
" Janua, concilium magnum, Styglóque Quirites
" Accitos, Rex ipse nigræ in penetralia cogit.
" Olli conveniunt, volitant umbrosa per auras.
" Numina, Tartareóque tumet domus alta Senatu.
" Considunt, numeróque omnes subsellia justo
" (*Concilium horrendum*) insternunt, causamque fluendi
" Intenti expectant: solio tum Lucifer alto
" Insurgens, dictis umbras accendit amaris, &c."

Possibly Milton might now be thinking of this passage. That he had read the poem with attention, is evident. See this point further considered in the first note on Milton's verses *In Quintum Novembris*. TODD.

Ver. 44. *O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,*] So the devil is called in scripture *the prince of the power of the air*, Eph. ii. 2; and evil spirits are termed the *rulers of the darkness of this world*, Eph. vi. 12.

Satan here summons a council, and opens it as he did in the *Paradise Lost*: but here is not that copiousness and variety which is in the other; here are not different speeches and sentiments adapted to the different characters; it is a council without a debate; Satan is the only speaker. And the author, as if conscious of this defect, has artfully endeavoured to obviate the objection, by saying that their danger

——————" admits no long debate,
" But must with something sudden be oppos'd."

And afterwards,

——————" no time was then
" For long indulgence to their fears or grief."

The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this. NEWTON.

The object of this council, it should be recollected, is not to debate, but merely for Satan to communicate to his compeers

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(For much more willingly I mention air,
This our old conqueſt, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation,) well ye know
How many ages, as the years of men,
This univerſe we have poſſeſs'd, and rul'd,
In manner at our will, the affairs of earth,
Since Adam and his facile conſort Eve
Loſt Paradiſe, deceiv'd by me; though ſince
With dread attending when that fatal wound
Shall be inflicted by the ſeed of Eve

his apprehenſions of their approaching danger, and to receive from them a ſort of commiſſion to act, in prevention of it, as circumſtances might require, and as he ſhould judge beſt. This gives the poet an opportunity of laying open the motives and general deſigns of the great antagoniſt of his hero. A council, with a debate of equal length to that in the ſecond Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, would have been totally diſproportionate to this *brief epick*; which, from the nature of its ſubject, already perhaps abounds too much in ſpeeches. DUNSTER.

They who have been taught to think, by the caut of common criticks, that this poem is unworthy of the great genius of Milton, may read the *two firſt ſpeeches* in it; THIS of Satan, with which the poem judiciouſly opens; and THAT of God at ver. 130 of this Book. Jos. WARTON.

Ver. 45. ——————— *air,*
This our old conqueſt,] Par. Loſt, B. x. 188.
——————— "through the *air*,
"The *realm itſelf of Satan long uſurp'd.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. ——— *attending*] That is, *waiting, expecting*; from the French *attendre*. So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. vii. 407.

"Or in their pearly ſhells at eaſe *attend*
"Moiſt nutriment——"

See alſo B. xi. 551. DUNSTER.

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Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longeſt time to him is ſhort;
And now, too ſoon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compaſs'd, wherein we
Muſt bide the ſtroke of that long-threaten'd wound,
(At leaſt if ſo we can, and by the head
Broken be not intended all our power
To be infring'd, our freedom and our being,
In this fair empire won of earth and air,)
For this ill news I bring, the Woman's Seed,

Ver. 55. ——— *Long the decrees of Heaven*
Delay, for longeſt time to him is ſhort;] This obſervation, that "the decrees of Heaven are long delayed," muſt be underſtood as being limited to this particular inſtance; or to its being *ſometimes*, not always ſo. Why any interval ſhould *ever* occur between the decrees of the Almighty and his execution of them, a reaſon is immediately ſubjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine tranſition to the ſucceeding ſentence. Time is as nothing to the Deity; long and ſhort having in fact no exiſtence to a Being with whom all duration is preſent. Time to human beings has its ſtated meaſurement, and by this Satan had juſt before eſtimated it;

"How many ages, as the years of men,
"This univerſe we have poſſeſſed."——

Time to guilty beings, human or ſpiritual, paſſes ſo quick, that the hour of puniſhment, however protracted, always comes too ſoon;

"And now, *too ſoon for us* the circling hours
"This dreaded time have compaſs'd, wherein we
"Muſt bide the ſtroke of that *long-threaten'd* wound."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 64. *For this ill news I bring*, &c.] In the fourth Act of the *Adamo* of Andreini, Lucifer ſimilarly announces the Incarnation to the demons. DUNSTER.

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Destin'd to this, is late of Woman born.
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause:
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so
Purified, to receive him pure, or rather
To do him honour as their king: All come,
And he himself among them was baptiz'd;
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt; I saw
The Prophet do him reverence; on him, rising
Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds
Unfold her crystal doors; thence on his head

Ver. 74. *Purified, to receive him pure,*] 1 *John* iii. 3. "And every man that hath this hope in him, "*purifieth himself even as he is pure.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 81. ——————*Heaven above the clouds*
Unfold her crystal *doors;*] It is the same idea in the *Ode on the Nativ.* st. 13. "Ring out, ye *crystal* spheres." And in the Latin Ode, *Præsul. Elien*, ver. 63.

"Donec *nitentes* ad *fores*
"Ventum est Olympi, et *regiam crystallinam*, &c."

Compare also *Par. L.* vi. 771.

"He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
"On the *crystalline* sky"

A perfect dove descend, (whate'er it meant,)
And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,
"This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd."
His mother then is mortal, but his Sire
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven:

Again, B. i. 741.

——— "Thrown by angry Jove
"Sheer o'er the *crystal* battlements."

See also B. vi. 756, 860. Milton's "*crystal battlements*" are in the imagery of romance. The "*crystalline* sphere" is from the Ptolemaick or Gothick system of Astronomy, *Par. L.* iii. 482, And so perhaps Spenser, *Tears of the Muses:*

"For hence we mount aloft into the skie,
"And look into the *crystall* firmament." T. WARTON.

Ver. 83. *A perfect dove descend,*] He had expressed it before, ver. 30. *in likeness of a dove*, agreeably to St. Matthew, "*the Spirit of God descending like a dove,*" iii. 16. and to St. Mark, "*the Spirit like a dove descending upon him,*" i. 10. But as Luke says, that *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, iii. 22, the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.

NEWTON.

Vida, like Milton, describes the Holy Ghost descending as a "perfect dove;" *Christ.* iv. 214.

"Protinus aurifluo Jordanes gurgite fulsit,
"Et superûm vasto intonuit domus alta fragore:
"Insuper et cœli claro delapsa columba est
"Vertice per purum, candenti argentea pluma
"Terga, sed auratis circum et rutilantibus alis:
"Jámque viam late signans super astitit ambos,
"Cœlestíque aurâ pendens afflavit utrumque.
"Vox simul et magni rubrâ genitoris ab æthrâ
"Audita est, nati dulcem testantis amorem."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 87. He *who* obtains *the monarchy of Heaven:*] *Obtains* is in the sense of *obtineo* in Latin; *to hold, retain,* or *govern.*

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And what will he not do to advance his Son?
His firſt-begot we know, and ſore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep:
Who this is we muſt learn, for Man he ſeems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpſes of his Father's glory ſhine.
Ye ſee our danger on the utmoſt edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But muſt with ſomething ſudden be oppos'd,

But *obtains* rather means here *obtains by conqueſt*: Satan being the ſpeaker, it is a word of much force. It implies *uſurpation*. It ſhould be noted that the *He* is, in this place, ſeemingly emphatical. DUNSTER.

Ver. 89. ——————— *and ſore have felt,*
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep:] In reference to the ſublime deſcription, in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, of the Meſſiah driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven, B. vi. 834, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. *Who this is we muſt learn,*] Our author favours the opinion of thoſe writers, Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza and others among the moderns, who believed that the Devil, though he might know Jeſus to be ſome extraordinary perſon, yet knew him not to be the Meſſiah, the Son of God. NEWTON.

It was requiſite for the poet to aſſume this opinion, as it is a neceſſary hinge on which part of the poem turns. DUNSTER.

Ver. 94. ——————— *on the utmoſt edge*
Of hazard,] Dr. Newton ſays, this is borrowed from Shakſpeare's *All's well that ends well*, A. iii. S. iii.

" We'll ſtrive to bear it, for your worthy ſake,
" *To the extreme edge of hazard;*"——

It is certainly a ſtrong coincidence of expreſſion. But Milton may be ſuppoſed to have had in his mind a paſſage in Homer: from whom Shakſpeare might alſo have borrowed a metaphor.

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(Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven
ſnares,)

ſo perfectly Grecian, by the means of his friend Chapman's verſion. See *Il.* x. 173.

Νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυρὸν ἵσταται ἀκμὴς·
Ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς, ἠὲ βιῶναι.

For the very frequent uſe of Ἐπὶ ξυρῇ ἀκμῆς, among the Greek writers, ſee a note of Valckenaer on *Herodotus*, l. vi. c. 11.—And Warton on *Theocritus*, Idyll. xxii. 6. Milton has twice uſed nearly the ſame expreſſion in his *Paradiſe Loſt*;

——————— " on the perilous *edge*
" Of battle, when it rag'd,"—— B. i. 276.
" On the rough *edge* of battle, ere it join'd,"——
B. vi. 108.

where I am not a little ſurpriſed to find Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin both endeavouring to trace out the phraſe, without being at all aware that it was ſo common an expreſſion among the Greeks, as to be quite proverbial. See Lucian, *Jupit. Tragœd.* tom. ii. p. 605. Ed. Reitz. DUNSTER.

Milton, I obſerve, uſes this proverbial expreſſion literally in Engliſh: " We never leave ſubtilizing and caſuiſting, till we have ſtraitned and pared that liberal path into *a razor's edge* to walk on, between a precipice of unneceſſary miſchief on either ſide." *Proſe-W.* vol. i. p. 321. ed. 1698. See alſo Sir Henry Wotton's *Remains*, 3d. edit. 1672, p. 365. " Methinks I ſee him walking not like a Funambulus upon a cord, but upon the *edge of a razor*." TODD.

Ver. 97. *Not* force, *but well-couch'd* fraud,] Marino, *Strage de gli Innocenti*, 1633. p. 11. where the devil alſo is the ſpeaker:

" Se la *forza* non val, vaglia la *froda*." TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *well-couch'd fraud*,] So it is ſaid of the Devil, as Mr. Dunſter alſo has obſerved, that he " was the firſt
" That practis'd *falſhood* under ſaintly ſhow,
" Deep malice to conceal, *couch'd* with revenge."
Par. Loſt, B. iv. 121.

And, in Milton's *Proſe-Works*, flattery is called " that deceitful and *cloſe-couch't* evil." vol. i. p. 141. ed. 1698. TODD.

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Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and ſupreme on earth.
I, when no other durſt, ſole undertook
The diſmal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam; and the exploit perform'd
Succeſsfully: a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way, found proſperous once,
Induces beſt to hope of like ſucceſs.
He ended, and his words impreſſion left
Of much amazement to the infernal crew,
Diſtracted and ſurpris'd with deep diſmay
At theſe ſad tidings; but no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief:
Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterpriſe

Ver. 97. ——— *well-woven ſnares,*] Thus Spenſer, *Aſtrophel*, ſt. 17.

"There his *well-woven* toils, and ſubtle traines
"He laid, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 100. *I, when no other durſt, ſole undertook*
The diſmal expedition &c.] The fear and unwillingneſs of the other fallen Angels to undertake this diſmal expedition, is particularly deſcribed in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. ii. 420, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 103. ——— *a calmer voyage now*
Will waft me;] Thus, in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iii. 1041, where Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is ſaid the remainder of the journey became ſo much eaſier,

"That Satan with leſs toil, and now with eaſe,
"*Wafts on the calmer wave.*" DUNSTER.

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To him, their great dictator, whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles,

Ver. 113. *To him, their great dictator,*] Milton applies this title very properly to Satan in his present situation; as the authority he is now vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going of the utmost consequence to the fallen angels. THYER.

Ver. 119. —— *to the coast of Jordan,*] The wilderness, where our Saviour underwent his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was; St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized, ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, *returned from Jordan.* NEWTON.

Ver. 120. *His easy steps,*] In reference, (as Dr. Newton has observed,) to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition, compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan in the conclusion of his speech had said,

——— "a calmer voyage now
"Shall waft me." DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— girded with snaky wiles,] *Girded with snaky wiles* alludes to the habits of sorcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents. NEWTON.

This being *girt about with a girdle of snakes*, puts us in mind, says Warburton, of the instrument of the Fall. Surely this interpretation is a far-fought and groundless refinement; as is also the remark on ver. 310, of the wild beasts growing mild at our Saviour's appearance as a mark of the returning Paradisiacal state.
JOS. WARTON.

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Where he might likelieſt find this new-declar'd,
This Man of men, atteſted Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try;
So to ſubvert whom he ſuſpected rais'd
To end his reign on earth, ſo long enjoy'd:
But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill'd
The purpos'd counſel, pre-ordain'd and fix'd,
Of the Moſt High; who, in full frequence bright
Of Angels, thus to Gabriel ſmiling ſpake.

Girded here ſeems uſed only in a metaphorical ſenſe; as in Scripture the Chriſtian, properly armed, is deſcribed having his "*loins* GIRT *about with truth*," (Epheſ. vi. 14.) "*Girded with ſnaky wiles*" is equivalent to the "*dolis inſtructus*" of Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 152. Thus alſo, in the beginning of the third Book of this poem, Satan is deſcribed,

"At length *collecting all his ſerpent wiles.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 128. ——— *in full frequence*] Thus, in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. i. 794;

"A thouſand demi-gods on golden ſeats,
"*Frequent and full.*"

And he has the ſame expreſſion of *full frequence*, in the ſecond Book of this poem, ver. 130. DUNSTER.

Ver. 129. ——— *thus to Gabriel ſmiling ſpake.*] This ſpeech is properly addreſſed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he ſeems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embaſſies and tranſactions relating to the Goſpel. Gabriel was ſent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the ſeventy weeks; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptiſt to his father Zacharias, and of our bleſſed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewiſh Rabbis ſay that Michael was the miniſter of ſeverity, but Gabriel of mercy: accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradiſe, and employs Michael to expel our firſt parents out of Paradiſe: and for the ſame reaſon this ſpeech is directed to Gabriel in particular. NEWTON.

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Gabriel, this day by proof thou ſhalt behold,
Thou and all Angels converſant on earth
With man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that ſolemn meſſage, late
On which I ſent thee to the Virgin pure

Taſſo, ſpeaking of Gabriel, who is the Meſſenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the *Geruſalemme Liberata*, ſays

" E tra Dio queſti e l' anime migliori
" Interprete fedel, nuncio giocondo:
" Giù i decreti del ciel porta, ed al cielo
" Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e 'l zelo." DUNSTER.

Ver. 129. ——— ſmiling *ſpake*.] *Smiling* is here no caſual expletive. It is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contraſt the deſcription of Satan, in the preceding part of the Book, where his " gloomy conſiſtory" of infernal Peers, it is ſaid,

" *With looks aghaſt and ſad* he thus beſpake."

The *benevolent ſmile* of the Deity is finely deſcribed by Virgil, *Æn.* i. 254.

" Olli *ſubridens* hominum ſator atque Deorum,
" *Vultu, quo cœlum tempeſtatéſque ſerenat.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. ——— *by proof*] This is an alluſion to the old trial by combat. The *duel*, or *trial by combat*, is defined by Fleta, " Singularis pugna inter duos *ad probandam veritatem litis*, et qui vicit *probaſſe* intelligitur." Thus, ver 11.

———" and brought'ſt him thence
" By *proof* the undoubted Son of God."

And before, in the very opening of the poem:

———" the Tempter *foil'd*,
" In all his wiles *defeated* and *repuls'd*:"

And the deſart is called " his victorious *field*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 131. *Thou and all Angels converſant on earth*
With man or men's affairs,] This ſeems to be taken from the verſes attributed to Orpheus;

Ἄγγελοι, οἵσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται. NEWTON.

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In Galilee, that ſhe ſhould bear a ſon,
Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;
Then told'ſt her, doubting how theſe things could be
To her a virgin, that on her ſhould come
The Holy Ghoſt, and the power of the Higheſt
O'erſhadow her. This Man, born and now upgrown,
To ſhow him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expoſe
To Satan; let him tempt, and now aſſay
His utmoſt ſubtlety, becauſe he boaſts

Ver. 137. *Then told'ſt her,*] Milton ſometimes, from a wiſh to compreſs, latiniſes, ſo as to obſcure and confuſe his language conſiderably.—The ſenſe, which he intends here, is plainly *Thou told'ſt her*, &c.; ſo that *told'ſt* is uſed here as equivalent to the Latin *diriſti*, with its pronominal nominative underſtood; but which our language poſitively requires to be expreſſed, unleſs where the verb is connected by a conjunction with ſome other verb dependent on the ſame pronoun. He has adopted the ſame mode of writing in other places; particularly ver. 221, of this Book,

"Yet held it more humane, &c."

where the paſſage is perfectly confuſed for want of the pronoun *I*. See alſo ver. 85 of this Book.

We may in this reſpect apply to our author what Cicero has ſaid of the ancient orators; "Grandes erant verbis, crebri ſententiis, *compreſſione rerum breves, et ob eam ipſam cauſam interdum ſubobſcuri.*" Brutus, 29. Ed. Prouſt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 144. ——————— *becauſe he boaſts*
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apoſtaſy:] This alludes to what Satan had juſt before ſaid to his companions, ver. 100;

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And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apoſtaſy: he might have learnt
Leſs overweening, ſince he fail'd in Job,
Whoſe conſtant perſeverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
He now ſhall know I can produce a Man,
Of female ſeed, far abler to reſiſt
All his ſolicitations, and at length
All his vaſt force, and drive him back to Hell;
Winning, by conqueſt, what the firſt Man loſt,
By fallacy ſurpris'd. But firſt I mean
To exerciſe him in the wilderneſs;
There he ſhall firſt lay down the rudiments

" I, when no other durſt, ſole undertook, &c."
THYER.

Ver. 145. ——— *the throng*
Of his apoſtaſy:] Thus, *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 142;
——— " and thinner left *the throng*
" *Of his adorers.*" ———

Of his apoſtaſy: i. e. of his apoſtates. In the twelfth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, there is the ſame figure of ſpeech, where the Angel deſcribes Abraham paſſing over the Euphrates, followed by
——— " a cumbrous train
" Of flocks and herds, and numerous *ſervitude.*"
DUNSTER.

Ver. 157. ——— *the* rudiments
Of his great warfare,] Virg. *Æn.* xi. 156.
" Primitiæ juvenis miſeræ, *bellique* propinqui
" *Dura rudimenta.*"
And Statius, *Sylv.* v. ii. 3.
" Quod ſi *militiæ* jam te, puer inclyte, *primæ*
" *Clara rudimenta*, et caſtrorum dulce vocaret
" Auſpicium" ——— DUNSTER.

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Of his great warfare, ere I ſend him forth
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,
By humiliation and ſtrong ſufferance:
His weakneſs ſhall o'ercome Satanick ſtrength,
And all the world, and maſs of ſinful fleſh,
That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,

Ver. 161. *His weakneſs ſhall o'ercome Satanick ſtrength,*] Thus in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, c. i. ver. 27. "*And God hath choſen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.*"

But the proper reference here is more probably to the *ſecond* verſe of the *eighth* Pſalm: "*Out of the mouth of babes and ſucklings haſt thou ordained ſtrength, becauſe of thine enemies; and that thou mighteſt ſtill the enemy and the avenger.*" This Pſalm is conſidered by commentators as a ψαλμὸς ἐπινίκιος: Bp. Patrick ſuppoſes it to have been compoſed by David after his victory over Goliath, "which," he adds, "was a lively emblem of Chriſt's conqueſt over our great enemy." DUNSTER.

Ver. 162. *And all the world,*] "I have *overcome the world.*" John xvi. 33. DUNSTER.

Ver. 163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,*
They now, and Men hereafter, may diſcern,
From what conſummate virtue I have choſe
This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn ſalvation for the ſons of men.] Not a word is ſaid here of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow: His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous repreſentation: and the Angels are firſt to learn the myſtery of the Incarnation from that important conflict, which is the ſubject of this poem. They are ſeemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *Man* Chriſt Jeſus over the enemy of mankind; and theſe ſurpriſe them with the glorious diſcovery of the *God*,

——————" enſhrin'd
" In fleſhly tabernacle and human form,"

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They now, and Men hereafter, may diſcern,
From what conſummate virtue I have choſe
This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn ſalvation for the ſons of men.
So ſpake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven
Admiring ſtood a ſpace, then into hymns

The Father, ſpeaking to his Eternal Word, *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 308, on his generous undertakings for mankind, ſaith,

——————— " and haſt been found
" By merit, more than birthright, Son of God."

CALTON.

On a frequent peruſal and thorough conſideration of this paſſage, I cannot forbear being of Mr. Calton's opinion, that there is not a word here ſaid of the Son of God, but what a Socinian, or at leaſt an Arian, would allow. The ſame obſervation may be made on ſome other remarkable paſſages of this poem.

JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 168. *So ſpake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven Admiring ſtood a ſpace,*] We cannot but notice the great art of the poet, in ſetting forth the dignity and importance of his ſubject. He repreſents all beings as intereſted one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is ſummoned; an aſſembly of Angels is held. Satan is the ſpeaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expreſſes his diffidence, but ſtill reſolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpoſe of proving and illuſtrating his Son. The infernal crew are diſtracted and ſurpriſed with deep diſmay; all Heaven ſtands awhile in admiration. The fiends are ſilent through fear and grief; the Angels burſt forth into ſinging with joy and the aſſured hopes of ſucceſs. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader.

NEWTON.

Ver. 169, ——————— *then into hymns Burſt forth, and in celeſtial meaſures mov'd, Circling the throne and ſinging,*] Milton, we may ſuppoſe, had here in his mind the ancient chorus. In his original

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Burſt forth, and in celeſtial meaſures mov'd,
Circling the throne and ſinging, while the hand

plan of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, under a dramatick form, he propoſed to introduce a chorus of Angels. The drama ſeems to have been his favourite ſpecies of poetry, and that which particularly caught and occupied his imagination: ſo at leaſt we may judge from the numerous plans of tragedies which he left behind him. Indeed he has frequent alluſions to dramatick compoſitions in all his works. DUNSTER.

Milton, perhaps, at this time, had in mind Dante's repreſentation of the Angels formed into choirs, and ſinging praiſes to the Eternal Father, in his *Paradiſo*, c. xxviii. TODD.

Ver. 171. ——————— *while the hand*
Sung with the voice,] We have nearly the ſame phraſe in Tibullus, iii. iv. 41;

" Sed poſtquam fuerant *digiti cum voce locuti*,
" Edidit hæc dulci triſtia verba modo."

The word *hand* is uſed again in this poem, B. iv. 254, to diſtinguiſh inſtrumental harmony from vocal;

" There thou ſhalt hear and learn the ſecret power
" Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
" By *voice or hand*."

Alſo in the *Arcades*, v. 77:

" If my inferiour *hand or voice* could hit
" Inimitable ſounds." CALTON.

So, in Lucretius, iv. 588.

" Chordarúmque ſonos fieri, dulcéſque querelas,
" Tibia quas fundit *digitis* pulſata *canentum*:"

Cano ſignifies not only *to ſing*, but alſo *to perform on any inſtrument*. Thus, Ovid, *Ex Pont*. I. i. 39.

" Ante deum Martem *cornu* tibicen adunco
" Cum *canit*." DUNSTER.

This expreſſion occurs in the beautiful verſion of the cxxxviith *Pſalm*, which I notice in the Account of Lawes. See the preliminary illuſtrations of *Comus*:

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Sung with the voice, and this the argument.
Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,

" Nor may we our hymns prophane;
" Or tune either *voice* or *hand*,
" To delight a ſavage band."

So, in Carew's elegant Maſk, *Coelum Britannicum*, 1634.

———— " Harmony, that not reſides
" In ſtrings or notes, but in the *hand* and *voice*." TODD.

Ver. 174. *Now entering his great* duel,] If it be not a contradiction, it is at leaſt inaccurate in Milton, to make an Angel ſay in *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 386. " Dream not of their fight as of a *duel*;" and afterwards to make the Angels expreſs it here in the metaphor of a *duel*. NEWTON.

There is, I think, a meanneſs in the cuſtomary ſenſe of the word *duel*, that makes it unworthy of theſe ſpeakers, and of this occaſion. The Italian *duello*, if I am not miſtaken, bears a ſtronger ſenſe, and this I ſuppoſe Milton had in view. THYER.

Milton might rather be ſuppoſed to look to the Latin; where *duellum* is equivalent to *bellum*. See Hor. I *Epiſt.* ii. 6. and *Ode* IV. xiv. 18. But *duel* here is uſed by our author in its moſt common acceptation of *ſingle combat*; and *now entering his great duel* means " now entering the liſts to prove, in perſonal combat with his avowed antagoniſt and appellant, the reality of his own divinity." See note on ver. 130, of this Book. In the opening of this poem we may notice alluſions to the *duel* or *triat by combat*. See ver. 5, &c. And ver. 8—11. Indeed the *Paradiſe Regained* abſolutely exhibits the temptation of our bleſſed Saviour in the light of a duel, or perſonal conteſt, between him and the Archenemy of mankind; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and reſignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquiſhes the wiles of the Devil. He thereby atteſts his own ſuperiority over his antagoniſt, and his ability to reſtore the loſt happineſs of mankind, by *regaining Paradiſe* for them, and by reſcuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive. DUNSTER.

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But to vanquiſh by wiſdom helliſh wiles!
The Father knows the Son; therefore ſecure
Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,
Againſt whate'er may tempt, whate'er ſeduce,
Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
Be fruſtrate, all ye ſtratagems of Hell,
And, deviliſh machinations, come to nought!
So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd:

Milton might have probably been influenced, in his adoption of the word *duel*, by the title and ſubject of the following curious and rare book: "*Le Duel* et Combat de Jeſus Empereur, Roy, et Monarque de tout l'Univers, et Prince de Lumiere, à lencontre de ſon ennemy Sathan, Prince des Tenebres, et inique vſurpateur de ce monde viſible. Compoſé par F. Guillaume Zolinc, Religieux profez d'Abbaye de Madame S. Geneuiefne, &c." 12mo. Paris, 1587. TODD.

Ver. 175. *But to vanquiſh*] Milton lays the accent on the laſt ſyllable in *vanquiſh*, as elſewhere in *triúmph*; and in many places he imitates the Latin and Greek proſody, and makes a vowel long before two conſonants. JORTIN.

The accent upon the laſt ſyllable of *triumph* was common in Milton's time; and the accent upon the laſt ſyllable alſo of *vanquiſh* may be paralleled by a paſſage in Shakſpeare's *Hen.* VI. Part I. A. iii. S. iii.

"I am *vanquiſh'd*; theſe haughty words of hers
"Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-ſhot." TODD.

Ver. 182. *So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd:*
Mean while the Son of God,] How nearly does the poet here adhere to the ſame way of ſpeaking which he had uſed in *Paradiſe Loſt*, on the ſame occaſion, B. iii. 416!

"*Thus they in Heaven*, above the ſtarry ſphere,
"Their happy hours in joy and *hymning* ſpent.
"*Mean while* upon the firm opacous globe
"Of this round world, &c." THYER.

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Mean while the Son of God, who yet ſome days
Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,
Muſing, and much revolving in his breaſt,
How beſt the mighty work he might begin
Of Saviour to mankind, and which way firſt
Publiſh his God-like office now mature,
One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading

Ver. 182. ——————— vigils *tun'd:*] This is a very uncommon expreſſion, and not eaſy to be underſtood, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that by *vigils*, the poet means thoſe ſongs which they ſung while they kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their *wakes* in Heaven. And I ſee no reaſon why their evening ſervice may not be called *vigils*, as their morning ſervice is called *matins*. NEWTON.

The evening ſervice in the Roman Catholick churches is called *veſpers*. There was formerly a nocturnal ſervice called *vigils*, or *nocturns*, which was chanted and accompanied with muſick. Ducange explains *vigiliæ* "ipſum officium nocturnum *quod in vigiliis nocturnis olim decantabatur*."—The old writers often ſpeak of the *vigiliarum cantica*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. ——————— *who yet ſome days*
Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,] The poet, I preſume, ſaid this upon the authority of the firſt chapter of St. John's goſpel, where certain particulars, which happened ſeveral days together, are related concerning the Son of God, and it is ſaid, ver. 28. "*Theſe things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 185. ——— *much revolving in his breaſt,*] Virg. *Æn.* x. 890. "Multa movens animo." DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. *One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading*
And his deep thoughts,] In what a fine light does Milton here place that text of Scripture, where it is ſaid that *Jeſus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderneſs!* He adheres ſtrictly to the inſpired hiſtorian, and at the ſame time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical. THYER.

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And his deep thoughts, the better to converſe
With ſolitude, till, far from track of men,
Thought following thought, and ſtep by ſtep led on.
He enter'd now the bordering deſart wild,
And, with dark ſhades and rocks environ'd round,

Ver. 190. ——————— *the better to converſe*
With ſolitude,] So, in *Comus*, v. 375.
——————— " Wiſdom's ſelf
" Oft ſeeks to ſweet retired ſolitude." DUNSTER.

But the poet here perhaps alludes to the ſacred text, where it is ſaid of our Saviour, that, " in the morning, riſing up a great while before day, he went out, and departed *into a ſolitary place*, and there prayed," *Mark* i. 35. TODD.

Ver. 191. ——————— *far from track of men,*] Sophocl. *Philoct.* ver. 493. Χωρις ανθρωπων γ' ιδειν. DUNSTER.

Ver. 193. *He enter'd now the bordering deſart wild,*
And, with dark ſhades and rocks environ'd round,]
The wilderneſs, in which John *preached the goſpel*, and where *Jeruſalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan went out to him and were baptized in Jordan*, we are expreſsly told by St. Matthew, iii. 1. *was the wilderneſs of Judea;* which extended from the river Jordan all along the weſtern ſide of the Aſphaltick Lake, or *Dead Sea.* The different parts of this wilderneſs had different names, from the neighbouring cities or mountains; thus 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. it is called the *wilderneſs of Ziph*, and, xxiv. 1. the *wilderneſs of Engaddi.* The word מדבר in Scripture, which in our verſion is rendered wilderneſs or deſart, does not mean a country abſolutely barren or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed in the 15th *chapter of Joſhua*, where the cities of Judah are enumerated, we read of ſix cities *in the wilderneſs.* Of theſe Engaddi ſtood neareſt to the river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea. The *deſart*, where Milton, following what could be collected from Scripture, now places our Lord, we may ſuppoſe then to be that part of the wilderneſs of Judea, in the neighbourhood of Engaddi. The

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His holy meditations thus purſued.
O, what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awaken'd in me ſwarm, while I conſider
What from within I feel myſelf, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill ſorting with my preſent ſtate compar'd!
When I was yet a child, no childiſh play
To me was pleaſing; all my mind was ſet

wilderneſſes, or uncultivated parts of Judea, appear chiefly to have been foreſts and woods, *loca ſaltuoſa et ſylvoſa.* (See Reland's *Palæſtina*, L. 1. c. 56. *de locis incultis et ſylvis Palæſtinæ.*) About Engaddi alſo there were many mountains and rocks. David is deſcribed (1 *Sam.* xxiii. 29.) dwelling *in ſtrong holds at Engaddi;* and of Saul, when in purſuit of him, (xxiv. 2.) it is ſaid that *he went to ſeek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats.*

The "bordering deſart" then is the rocky uncultivated foreſt country neareſt to that part of Jordan where John had been baptizing, and our bleſſed Lord is accordingly, with the greateſt accuracy of deſcription, there repreſented, as entering

——— "now the bordering deſart wild,
"And with dark ſhades and rocks environ'd round."

It ſhould be obſerved, that D'Anville, in the map of Paleſtine in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it towards the northern end of that part of Jordan, which flows from the lake of Genezaret into the Dead Sea; and on the eaſtern bank of the river; almoſt oppoſite Enon. But it is nearly certain, that it really ſtood, as biſhop Pearce ſuppoſes, (*ſee his note on John* i. 28.) at the ſouthern end of the river Jordan, on the weſtern bank; and within a little diſtance of the wilderneſs, being only a very few miles from the Dead Sea.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 201. *When I was yet a child, no childiſh play*
To me was pleaſing;] How finely and conſiſtently, as Mr. Thyer obſerves, does Milton here imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour! Dr. Jortin was of opinion, that

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Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be publick good; myſelf I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
The law of God I read, and found it ſweet,
Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
To ſuch perfection, that, ere yet my age
Had meaſur'd twice ſix years, at our great feaſt

Milton might here allude to Callimachus's account of Jupiter's infantine diſpoſition, *Hymn in Jov.* v. 56. Dr. Newton produced a ſimilar deſcription of Demophilus by Pindar, *Pyth. Od.* iv. 501. And Mr. Dunſter refers to an appoſite paſſage in Plutarch's Life of Cato. But the concluſion, made by Dr. Newton, ſtill applies "Our author *might* allude to thoſe paſſages, but he *certainly did* allude to the words of the apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 11, only inverting the thought, *When I was a child, I ſpake as a child*, &c." TODD.

Ver. 204. ——————— *myſelf I thought*
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,] Alluding to our Saviour's words, *John* xviii. 37. "To this end *was I born*, and for this cauſe came I into the world, that I ſhould *bear witneſs unto the truth.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 206. ——————— *therefore, above my years,*
The law of God I read, &c.] This has ſome reſemblance to Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 311.

"*Ante annos* animúmque gerens curámque virilem."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 207. *The law of God I read, and found it ſweet,*
Made it my whole delight,] "How *ſweet are thy words* unto my taſte! yea, ſweeter than honey to my mouth!" *Pſalm* cxix. 103.

"And *his delight is in the law of the Lord;* and in his law doth he meditate day and night." *Pſalm* i. 2. DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ——————— *ere yet my age*
Had meaſur'd twice ſix years,] The following

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I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propoſe
What might improve my knowledge or their own;
And was admir'd by all: yet this not all

verſes of Statius bear a reſemblance not only to this immediate paſſage, but alſo to ſome of the preceding lines, *Sylv.* v. ii. 12.

" *Octonos bis* jam tibi *circuit annos*
" *Vita;* ſed *anguſtis animus robuſtior annis,*
" Succumbítque oneri, et *mentem ſua* non capit *ætas.*"
DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ——— *that ere yet my age*
Had meaſur'd twice ſix years, at our great feaſt
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propoſe
What might improve my knowledge or their own;]
Though Milton, in one of his early poems, has paid a tribute of reſpect to the " *trump of Cremona,*" it is but ſeldom that we can trace him to any part of the *Chriſtiad.* There is however ſome reſemblance here to the deſcription, in that poem, of Jeſus at this early age, when at Jeruſalem, at the Feaſt of the Paſſover, going into the Temple, and *ſitting in the midſt of the doctors, both hearing them and aſking them queſtions.* Joſeph, who is made by Vida to narrate the early part of our Saviour's life, deſcribes himſelf and Mary, after having miſſed Jeſus on their road, returning to Jeruſalem, and finding him in the temple, as he is here deſcribed. *Chriſt.* iii. 947.

" Ecce ſacerdotum in medio conſpeximus illum,
" (Prima rudimenta, et virtutis ſigna futuræ,)
" Alta recenſentem vatúm monumenta, patrúmque
" Primores ultro ſcitantem obſçura, docentémque.
" Illum omnes admirari haud vulgata canentem
" Supra aciem, captúmque hominis, mentémque vigentem,
" Humanâ non vi edoctum, non arte magiſtrâ,
" Maturúmque animi nimium puerilibus annis."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 214. *And was admir'd by all:*] " And all that heard

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To which my ſpirit aſpir'd; victorious deeds
Flam'd in my heart, heroick acts; one while
To reſcue Iſrael from the Roman yoke;
Then to ſubdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,
Till truth were freed, and equity reſtor'd:
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, firſt
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

him were aſtoniſhed at his underſtanding and anſwers," *Luke* ii. 47. NEWTON.

Ver. 218. *Then to ſubdue and quell, o'er all the earth,*
Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,] Milton here carries his republican principles to the greateſt height, in ſuppoſing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations. We may compare his *Samſon Agoniſtes*, v. 1268, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 221. *Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, firſt*] The true ſpirit of toleration breathes in theſe lines, and the ſentiment is very fitly put into the mouth of him, who *came not to deſtroy men's lives, but to ſave them.* NEWTON.

Ver. 222. *By winning words to conquer willing hearts,*] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 561.

——— "victorque volentes
"Per populos dat jura" ———

which expreſſion of Virgil ſeems to be taken from Xenophon, *Oeconomic.* xxi. 12. Οὐ γὰρ πάνυ μοι δοκῖι ὅλον τῆλι τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἶναι, ἀλλὰ θεῖον, τὸ ἐθέλοντων ἀρχεῖν. JORTIN.

Dr. Newton has commended the alliteration of *w's* in this line. Alliteration, not too frequently repeated, undoubtedly gives ſometimes force and energy to a line; but ſurely ſeveral of our late writers carry it to a nauſeous and unwarrantable length. Of all writers, Dryden ſeems to be moſt happy in the temperate and proper uſe of alliteration; but he has ſcarcely ever more than three words in a line that begin with the ſame letter.

JOS. WARTON.

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And make perſuaſion do the work of fear;
At leaſt to try, and teach the erring ſoul,
Not wilfully miſdoing, but unware
Miſled; the ſtubborn only to ſubdue.
Theſe growing thoughts my mother ſoon perceiving,
By words at times caſt forth, inly rejoic'd,
And ſaid to me apart; "High are thy thoughts,
"O Son, but nouriſh them, and let them ſoar
"To what highth ſacred virtue and true worth

Ver. 226. ——— *the ſtubborn only to* ſubdue.] In all the editions we read "the ſtubborn only to *deſtroy*." And this being good ſenſe, the miſtake is not eaſily detected: but in the firſt edition the reader is deſired, in the table of Errata, for *deſtroy* to read *ſubdue;* and, if we conſider it, this is the more proper word, more ſuitable to the humane and heavenly character of the ſpeaker; and beſides it anſwers to the *ſubdue and quell* in ver. 218. "The Son of Man came *not to deſtroy* men's lives, &c." *Luke* ix. 56. NEWTON.

In Tonſon's 12mo. edit. 1747, it is rightly printed, "The ſtubborn only to *ſubdue*." TODD.

Ver. 228. ——— *inly rejoic'd,*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 502.

"Latonæ *tacitum* pertentant gaudia pectus." JORTIN.

The reader ſhould recollect, that the occaſion of the above verſe, which is finely deſcriptive of maternal delight, was the diſtinguiſhing perſonal grace and divine appearance of Diana on the banks of Eurotas, ſurrounded by her nymphs; among whom

——— "illa pharetram
"Fert humero, gradiénſque Deas ſupereminet omnes."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 231. ——— *true worth*] Hor. *Od.* III. v.

"Nec *vera virtus*, cum ſemel excidit,
"Curat reponi deterioribus." DUNSTER.

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" Can raiſe them, though above example high;
" By matchleſs deeds expreſs thy matchleſs Sire,
† " For know, thou art no ſon of mortal man;
" Though men eſteem thee low of parentage,
" Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules
" All Heaven and Earth, Angels and ſons of
" men;
" A meſſenger from God foretold thy birth
" Conceiv'd in me a virgin; he foretold,
" Thou ſhould'ſt be great, and ſit on David's
" throne,
" And of thy kingdom there ſhould be no end.
" At thy nativity, a glorious quire
" Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, ſung
" To ſhepherds, watching at their folds by night,

Ver. 233. *By matchleſs deeds* expreſs *thy matchleſs Sire,*] Milton, in one place of his *Par. Loſt*, uſes the verb *to expreſs*, in the ſame ſenſe as he has done here. It is one of the ſpeeches of the Deity to Adam after his creation.

" Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
" And find thee knowing, not in beaſts alone
" Which thou haſt rightly nam'd, but of thyſelf,
" *Expreſſing* well the ſpirit within thee free,
" My image, not imparted to the brute." DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. ——————— *he foretold,*
Thou ſhould'ſt be great, and ſit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there ſhould be no end.] See *Luke* i. 32, 33. DUNSTER.

Ver. 241. ——————— *there* ſhould *be no end.*] Tickell and Fenton, after Tonſon, corruptly read, " there *ſhall* be no end." Dr. Newton reſtored the true reading. TODD.

Ver. 242. *At thy nativity, a glorious quire*
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, ſung
To ſhepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.]

† Christ is here represented as having had no knowlege of his miraculous birth & the events said to have attended it, until these were now first communicated to him by his Mother.

" And told them the Meſſiah now was born,
" Where they might ſee him, and to thee they
" came,
" Directed to the manger where thou lay'ſt,
" For in the inn was left no better room:
" A ſtar, not ſeen before, in Heaven appearing,
" Guided the wiſe men thither from the eaſt,
" To honour thee with incenſe, myrrh, and gold;
" By whoſe bright courſe led on they found the
" place,
" Affirming it thy ſtar, new-graven in Heaven,
" By which they knew the King of Iſrael born.
" Juſt Simeon and prophetick Anna, warn'd

See *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 364.

" His place of birth a ſolemn Angel tells
" To ſimple ſhepherds, keeping watch by night;
" They gladly thither haſte, and *by a quire*
" *Of ſquadron'd angels hear his carol ſung.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 249. *A ſtar, not ſeen before, in Heaven appearing,*
Guided the wiſe men thither from the eaſt,
To honour thee with incenſe, myrrh, and gold;]

So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 360.

——— " yet at his birth *a ſtar*,
" *Unſeen before in Heaven*, proclaims him come,
" And *guides the Eaſtern ſages*, who inquire
" His place, to offer *incenſe, myrrh, and gold.*"

DUNSTER.

Ver. 255. *Juſt Simeon and prophetick Anna,*] It may not be improper to remark how ſtrictly our author adheres to the Scripture hiſtory, not only in the particulars which he relates, but alſo in the very epithets which he affixes to the perſons; as here *Juſt Simeon*, becauſe it is ſaid, Luke ii. 25. *and the ſame man was juſt:* and *prophetick Anna*, becauſe it is ſaid, Luke ii. 36.

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" By viſion, found thee in the temple, and ſpake,
" Before the altar and the veſted prieſt,
" Like things of thee to all that preſent ſtood."—
This having heard, ſtraight I again revolv'd
The Law and Prophets, ſearching what was writ
Concerning the Meſſiah, to our ſcribes
Known partly, and ſoon found, of whom they ſpake
I am; this chiefly, that my way muſt lie
Through many a hard aſſay, even to the death,
Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain,

and there was one Anna a propheteſs. The like accuracy may be obſerved in all the reſt of this ſpeech. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. ——— *the* veſted *prieſt,*] The epithet *veſted* is ſingularly proper, becauſe the *veſtments* of the Jewiſh prieſt were enjoined, and particularly deſcribed, by God himſelf; and, unleſs habited in them, the miniſtration of the prieſt at the altar was illegal, and expreſsly forbidden under the penalty of " bearing his iniquity," *Exod.* xxviii. 43. HURD.

Ver. 262. ——— *and ſoon found, of whom they ſpake I am;*] The Jews thought that the Meſſiah, when he came, would be without all power and diſtinction, and *unknown even to himſelf*, till Elias had anointed and declared him. Χριστὸς δὲ εἰ καὶ γεγένῃλαι, καὶ ἐςὶ πυ, ἄγνως• ἐςὶ, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸ πω ἑαυτον ἐπίςαται, οὐδὲ ἴσχει δύναμιν τίνα, μέχρις ἂν ἐλθὼν Ἠλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν, καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιῆσῃ. Juſt. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 266. Ed. Col. CALTON.

Ver. 264. *Through many a* hard aſſay, *even to* the *death,*] See note on *Comus*, v. 972. Unto *the* death, as Mr. Dunſter obſerves, is an expreſſion uſed in our tranſlation of the Scriptures. See *Acts* xxii. 4. See alſo *Judges* v. 18, and *Revel.* xii. 11. It is alſo an old poetical phraſe, being uſed by Chaucer and Shakſpeare; and is ſuppoſed by Mr. Tyrwhitt to have been originally a miſtaken tranſlation of the French *la mort.* TODD.

† Jesus now, having been told by what his Mother had just imparted to him to search the Scriptures relative to the Messiah, is confirmed in the conviction that He himself is the Christ predicted in them.

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Or work redemption for mankind, whoſe ſins
Full weight muſt be transferr'd upon my head.
Yet, neither thus diſhearten'd or diſmay'd,
The time prefix'd I waited; when behold
The Baptiſt, (of whoſe birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by ſight,) now come, who was to come
Before Meſſiah, and his way prepare!
I, as all others, to his baptiſm came,
Which I believ'd was from above; but he
Straight knew me, and with loudeſt voice proclaim'd
Me him, (for it was ſhown him ſo from Heaven,)
Me him, whoſe harbinger he was; and firſt
Refus'd on me his baptiſm to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won:

Ver. 266. ——————— *whoſe ſins*
Full weight muſt be transferr'd upon my head.]
Iſaiah liii. 6. "*The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 271. *Not knew by ſight,*)] Though Jeſus and John the Baptiſt were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptiſt ſays expreſsly, *John* i. 31, 33, "*And I knew him not.*" He did not ſo much as know him by ſight, till our Saviour came to his baptiſm; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever converſed together. NEWTON.

Ver. 279. *As much his* greater,] Here Milton uſes the word *greater* in the ſame manner as he had done before, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. v. 172.

"Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and ſoul,
"Acknowledge him *thy greater.*"

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But, as I roſe out of the laving ſtream,
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit deſcended on me like a dove;
And laſt, the ſum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounc'd me his,
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
Now full, that I no more ſhould live obſcure,
But openly begin, as beſt becomes,
The authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.
And now by ſome ſtrong motion I am led
Into this wilderneſs, to what intent
I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know,
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

And this, I think, is a proof that the preſent reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought abſolutely to be rejected. THYER.

Ver. 280. ——— *out of the laving ſtream,*] Alluding to the phraſe *laver of regeneration* ſo frequently applied to baptiſm. It may be obſerved in general of this ſoliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the preſent condition of the divine ſpeaker, but alſo very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a hiſtory of his hero from his birth to the very ſcene with which the poem is opened. THYER.

Ver. 281. ——— *eternal doors,*] So in *Pſal.* xxiv. 7, 9. *everlaſting doors.* And *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. vii. 205.

——— " Heaven open'd wide
" Her *ever-during gates.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 286. ——— *the time*
Now full,] Alluding to the Scripture phraſe, *the fulneſs of time.* Gal. iv. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*] This

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So ſpake our Morning-Star, then in his riſe,
And, looking round, on every ſide beheld
A pathleſs deſart, duſk with horrid ſhades;

whole ſoliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, *that Chriſt was not, by virtue of the perſonal union of the two natures and from the firſt moment of that union, poſſeſſed of all the knowledge of the* ΛΟΓΟΣ, *as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's Elucidatio Status Controverſiarum, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he *increaſed in wiſdom*, and in ſtature. St. *Luke*, ii. 52. And Beza obſerves upon this place, that—" ipſa Θεότητος plenitudo ſeſe, prout & quatenus ipſi libuit, humanitati aſſumtæ inſinuavit: quicquid garriant matæologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Eutychiani." Grotius employs the ſame principle, to explain St. *Mark*, xiii. 32.—" Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie poſſe exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus *divinam ſapientiam* menti humanæ Chriſti effectus ſuos impreſſiſſe *pro temporum ratione.* Nam quid aliud eſt, ſi verba non torquemus, προϊκοπὴν σοφίας, *Luc.* ii. 52?" And our Tillotſon approved the opinion.—" It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Divine Wiſdom*, which dwelt in our Saviour, did communicate itſelf to his *human ſoul* according to his pleaſure, and ſo his *Human Nature* might at ſome times not know ſome things. And if this be not admitted, how can we underſtand that paſſage concerning our Saviour, *Luke*, ii. 52. that *Jeſus grew in wiſdom and ſtature?*" CALTON.

Ver. 294. *So ſpake our Morning-Star,*] So our Saviour is called, in the *Revelation*, xxii. 16, *the bright and morning ſtar.* NEWTON.

And thus Spenſer, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Love:*

" O bleſſed well of love! O flowre of grace!
" O glorious *Morning-ſtar!* &c."

Compare alſo *Luke* i. 78, 2 *Pet.* i. 19. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. ——— *on every ſide beheld*
A pathleſs deſart, duſk with horrid ſhades;] Thus Virgil deſcribes the wood in which Euryalus is taken, in his ninth *Æneid*, 381.

† It does not appear, however, that Milton held any such opinion, or formed this soliloquy upon any subtile hypothesis of a "personal union of two Natures" in Christ, whom he plainly represents as avowing his ignorance of those things which God had not revealed to him.

The way he came not having mark'd, return
Was difficult, by human ſteps untrod;
And he ſtill on was led, but with ſuch thoughts
Accompanied of things paſt and to come
Lodg'd in his breaſt, as well might recommend
Such ſolitude before choiceſt ſociety.
Full forty days he paſs'd, whether on hill

" Sylva fuit, late *dumis atque ilice nigra*
" *Horrida*, quam denſi complerant undique ſentes;
" *Rara per occultos lucebat ſemita calles.*"

But *duſk with horrid ſhades* is more immediately from *Æn.* i. 165.

" *Horrentíque atrum* nemus imminet *umbra.*" DUNSTER.

Probably not without a reference alſo to Taſſo. See my note on *Comus*, ver. 428. TODD.

Ver. 296. *A* pathleſs *deſart,*] Æchyl. *Prom. Vinct.* ver. 2. ABATON ἔρημιαν. And ſee Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour:*

" Fountain heads, and *pathleſs* groves,
" Places which pale Paſſion loves." DUNSTER.

Ver. 298. ——— *by* human ſteps *untrod;*] Compare the beginning of Petrarch's 28th Sonnet:

" Solo e penſoſo i piu deſerti campi
" Vo miſurando a paſſi tardi e lenti;
" E gli occhi porto per fuggire intenti
" Dove *veſtigio uman* l'arena *ſtampi.*" TODD.

Ver. 299. *And he ſtill on was led, but with ſuch thoughts*
Accompanied of things paſt and to come
Lodg'd in his breaſt, as well might recommend
Such ſolitude before choiceſt ſociety.] The Poet here reſumes and continues the deſcription he had given of our bleſſed Lord, previous to his Soliloquy, on his firſt entering the deſart, v. 189. DUNSTER.

Ver. 303. *Full forty days he paſs'd, whether on hill*
Sometimes, &c.] Here the Poet of *Paradiſe Loſt*

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Sometimes, anon on ſhady vale, each night
Under the covert of ſome ancient oak
Or cedar to defend him from the dew,
Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;
Nor taſted human food, nor hunger felt,
Till thoſe days ended; hunger'd then at laſt
Among wild beaſts: they at his ſight grew mild,

breaks out in his meridian ſplendour. There is ſomething particularly picturesque in this deſcription. DUNSTER.

Ver. 306. *Or cedar*] There is great propriety in mentioning this tree, as being peculiar to the country where the ſcene is laid. Jos. WARTON.

Ibid. ——— *to defend him from the dew*,] That the dews of that country were very conſiderable, may be collected from ſeveral parts of Scripture. The dews of mount Hermon are particularly noticed in the 133d Pſalm, as producing the moſt irriguous effects. Maundrell, in his *Travels*, when within little more than half a day's journey of this mountain, ſays, "we were ſufficiently inſtructed by experience what the Holy Pſalmiſt means by the *dew of Hermon*, our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night." DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *Or harbour'd in one cave*,] Dr. Jortin wiſhes to read *ſome* cave.—Caves are very frequently ſpoken of in Scripture, as places of retreat for protection or ſhelter. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Among wild beaſts: they at his ſight grew mild*,] St. Mark's ſhort account of THE TEMPTATION is, that our bleſſed Lord "*was in the wilderneſs forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beaſts, and the angels miniſtered unto him*," Ch. i. 13.

Abp. Secker, in his Sermon on the Temptation ſays, "During theſe forty days it is obſerved by St. Mark, that our bleſſed Redeemer *was with the wild beaſts*, which words muſt imply, elſe they are of no ſignificance, that the fierceſt animals were awed by his preſence, and ſo far laid aſide their ſavage nature for a time; thus verifying literally, what Eliphaz in Job ſaith

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Nor ſleeping him nor waking harm'd; his walk
The fiery ſerpent fled and noxious worm,
The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.

figuratively, concerning a good man; "*At deſtruction and famine ſhalt thou laugh, neither ſhalt thou be afraid of the beaſts of the earth*, FOR THEY SHALL BE AT PEACE WITH THEE."

Before the Fall, Milton ſuppoſes thoſe beaſts, which are now wild, to have been harmleſs, void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. See *Par. Loſt.* B. iv. 340, &c. Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow ſavage. See *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 707.

Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongſt them, they begin to reſume a certain proportion of their Paradiſiacal diſpoſition.

In Homer's *Hymn to Venus*, where that Goddeſs deſcends on Mount Ida, to viſit Anchiſes at his folds, her appearance is deſcribed as having the ſame effect, in its fulleſt extent, ver. 68, &c.

Giles Fletcher, in his *Chriſt's Triumph on Earth*, 1610; has given a ſimilar but more diffuſe deſcription of the effect of our Lord's preſence on the wild beaſts in the wilderneſs. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.*] So, in *Par. Loſt.* B. iv. 401.

——————— "about them round
"*A lion* now he ſtalks *with fiery glare;*
"Then as *a tiger* ——"

Again, B. x. 712, it is ſaid that, after the fall, the wild beaſts, ceaſing to graze,

"Devour'd each other, nor ſtood much in awe
"Of man, but fled him, or *with countenance grim*
"*Glar'd on him paſſing* ——"

The latter part of which deſcription is palpably taken from Shakſpeare, *Jul. Cæſ.* A. i. S. iv.

——————— "I met a lion
"Who *glar'd upon me, and went ſurly by*,
"Without annoying me." DUNSTER.

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But now an aged man in rural weeds,
Following, as ſeem'd, the queſt of ſome ſtray ewe,
Or wither'd ſticks to gather, which might ſerve
Againſt a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,
He ſaw approach, who firſt with curious eye
Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd
ſpake.

Ver. 314. *But now an aged man*] As the Scripture is entirely ſilent about what perſonage the Tempter aſſumed, the Poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his preſent purpoſe, or more likely to prevent ſuſpicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a deſign of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is repreſented addreſſing himſelf to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Viſcher's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerſelt. THYER.

See the Preliminary Remarks in this volume, on the Origin of Paradiſe Regained. TODD.

Ver. 319. ——————— *with curious eye*
Perus'd *him*,] Thus in *Hamlet*, Ophelia, deſcribing the behaviour of Hamlet to her, ſays,

" He falls to ſuch *peruſal of my face*,
" As he would draw it :"

And, in the laſt Scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo, when he has killed Paris, ſays

——————— " Let me *peruſe this face !*
" Mercutio's kinſman ! noble County Paris !"

And in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. viii, where Adam relates to Raphael his own ſenſations, immediately after his creation, having with infinite beauty deſcribed the ſcene that ſurrounded him, and firſt attracted and gratified his attention, he thus proceeds to ſpeak of his ſurvey of himſelf:

" Myſelf I then *perus'd*, and limb by limb
" Survey'd." DUNSTER.

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Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this
place
So far from path or road of men, who paſs
In troop or caravan? for ſingle none
Durſt ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
His carcaſs, pin'd with hunger and with drouth.

Ver. 323. *In troop or caravan?*] A caravan, as Tavernier ſays, is a great convoy of merchants, who meet at certain times and places, to put themſelves into a condition of defence from thieves, who ride in troops in ſeveral deſart places upon the road. Hence the ſafeſt way of travelling in Turky and Perſia is with the caravan. See *Travels into Perſia*, in Harris, vol. ii. ch. 2. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *for ſingle none*
Durſt ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
His carcaſs, pin'd with hunger and with drouth.] Milton ſeems here to have had in his mind the vaſt ſandy deſarts of Africa; which Diodorus Siculus deſcribes as a—"deſart, full of wild beaſts, of a vaſt extent, and from its being devoid of water, and bare of all kind of food, not only difficult, but abſolutely dangerous to paſs over." In Jeremiah, the deſart is deſcribed "a land that no man paſſed through," Septuag. ἐν γῇ ΑΒΑΤΩ, xi. 6. Compare the opening of Dante's *Inferno*, where, having paſſed through the more dreadful part of the *piaggia deſerta*, the poet turns himſelf to regard the dangerous region:

"Così l'animo mio, ch'ancor fuggiva,
"Si volſe 'ndietro a rimirar lo paſſo,
"Che non laſciò giammai perſona viva." DUNSTER.

Ver. 325. ——— *pin'd with hunger*] Death, in the tenth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, thus deſcribes himſelf,

——— "me, who, *with eternal famine pine*." DUNSTER.

But the expreſſion here was probably ſuggeſted by a paſſage in Drummond's *Flowers of Sion;* where, having deſcribed the returning reaſon of the Prodigal Son, the poet adds,

"This, where an aged oak had ſpread its arms,
"Thought the Loſt Child, while as the herds he led,
"And, *pin'd with hunger*, on wild acorns fed." TODD.

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I aſk the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou ſeem'ſt the Man, whom late
Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honour'd ſo, and call'd thee Son
Of God: I ſaw and heard, for we ſometimes
Who dwell this wild, conſtrain'd by want, come forth
To town or village nigh, (nigheſt is far,)
Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear
What happens new; fame alſo finds us out.
To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither,
Will bring me hence; no other guide I ſeek.
By miracle he may, replied the ſwain;
What other way I ſee not; for we here

Ver. 330. ——— *I ſaw and heard, for we ſometimes*
Who dwell this wild, conſtrain'd by want, come forth
To town or village nigh,] All this is finely in character with the aſſumed perſon of the Tempter, and tends at the ſame time to give more effect to the preceding deſcriptions. It ſhould be conſidered alſo that it was not neceſſary to confine thoſe deſcriptions merely to that part of the wilderneſs of Judea, into which our Lord was now juſt entering, v. 193, or where at moſt he had not advanced any great way, v. 299.—That wilderneſs was of a great length, the moſt habitable part being northward towards the river Jordan; ſouthward it extended into vaſt and uninhabited deſarts, which, in the map in Reland's *Palæſtina*, are termed *vaſtiſſimæ ſolitudines*. To deſcribe theſe, in ſuch a manner as might impreſs a deep ſenſe of danger in the mind of him to whom he addreſſed himſelf, was perfectly conſiſtent with the Tempter's purpoſe. DUNSTER.

Ver. 338. ——————— *for we here*
Live on tough roots and ſtubs,] This muſt certainly be a miſtake of the printer, and inſtead of *ſtubs* it ought to be

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Live on tough roots and ſtubs, to thirſt inur'd
More than the camel, and to drink go far,
Men to much miſery and hardſhip born:
But, if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of theſe hard ſtones be made thee bread,
So ſhalt thou ſave thyſelf, and us relieve
With food, whereof we wretched ſeldom taſte.
He ended, and the Son of God replied.
Think'ſt thou ſuch force in bread? Is it not written,
(For I diſcern thee other than thou ſeem'ſt,)

read *ſhrubs*. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and aſceticks living in deſarts upon roots and ſhrubs, but I never heard of *ſtubs* being uſed for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common ſenſe. Some have thought that the ακρίδες, which the Scripture ſays were the meat of the Baptiſt, were the tops of plants or ſhrubs. THYER.

Yet, in the *Tempeſt*, Proſpero threatens Ferdinand with nearly as hard fare, A. i. S. iii.

——————— " thy food ſhall be
" The freſh brook muſſels, *wither'd roots, and huſks*
" *Wherein the acorn cradled.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. ——————— *to thirſt inur'd*
More than the camel,] It is commonly ſaid that camels will go without water three or four days. " Sitim & quatriduo tolerant." Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. viii. ſect. 26. But Tavernier ſays, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. NEWTON.

Ver. 348. (*For I diſcern thee other than thou ſeem'ſt,*)] In the concluding Book of this Poem, our Lord ſays to the Tempter,

——————— " deſiſt, *thou art diſcern'd,*
" And toil'ſt in vain." DUNSTER.

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Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with manna? In the mount
Moſes was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;
And forty days Elijah, without food,
Wander'd this barren waſte; the ſame I now:
Why doſt thou then ſuggeſt to me diſtruſt,
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?
Whom thus anſwer'd the Arch-Fiend, now undiſguis'd.
'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,

Ver. 349. *Man lives not by bread only, but each word*
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with manna?] The words of St. *Matthew*, iv. 14, which refer to the eighth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, ver. 3, where the humiliation of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, and their being there miraculouſly fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience, "*and he humbled thee, and ſuffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewſt not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.*"

The Poet, who was, beyond a doubt, "mighty in the ſcripture," has, with much art, availed himſelf of the original paſſage in the Old Teſtament, as it affords him ſuch an immediate and appoſite tranſition to the miraculous feeding the Children of Iſrael, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderneſs. DUNSTER.

Ver. 356. *Knowing who I am,*] This is not to be underſtood of Chriſt's *divine* nature. The Tempter knew him to be the perſon *declared the Son of God* by a voice from Heaven, v. 385, and that was all that he knew of him. CALTON.

Ver. 358. *'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,*] Satan's inſtantaneous avowal of himſelf here has a great and fine effect. It is conſiſtent with a certain dignity of character which is given

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Who, leagu'd with millions more in raſh revolt,
Kept not my happy ſtation, but was driven
With them from bliſs to the bottomleſs deep,
Yet to that hideous place not ſo confin'd
By rigour unconniving, but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous priſon, I enjoy
Large liberty to round this globe of earth,
Or range in the air; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
Hath he excluded my reſort ſometimes.

him in general, through the whole of the *Paradiſe Loſt*.—The reſt of his ſpeech is artfully ſubmiſſive. DUNSTER.

Ver. 360. *Kept not my happy ſtation,*] See *Par. Loſt*, B. vii. 145, and the note there. TODD.

Ver. 364. ——— *my* dolorous *priſon,*] Par. Loſt. B. ii. 618.

—— " through many a dark and dreary vale
" They paſs'd, and many a region *dolorous*,
" O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp." DUNSTER.

Again, in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, ſt. xiv.

" And *Hell* itſelf will paſs away,
" And leave her *dolorous* manſions to the peering day."

Although the adjective *dolorous* be common in our old poetry, Milton, I am inclined to think, did not forget Dante's uſage of it, in the *Inferno*, where Satan is called, c. xxxiv.

" Lo 'mperador del *doloroſo regno*." TODD.

Ver. 365. ——— *to* round *this globe of earth,*] Milton uſes the ſame phraſe in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. x. 684. ſpeaking of the ſun:

" Had *rounded* ſtill the horizon." THYER.

In Quarles's *Job Militant*, the Devil thus concludes his reply to God's queſtion, Whence comeſt thou?

" The earth is my dominion, hell's my home;
" I *round* the world, and ſo from thence I come."

DUNSTER.

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I came among the ſons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him and illuſtrate his high worth;
And, when to all his Angels he propos'd
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud
That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies
To his deſtruction, as I had in charge;
For what he bids I do. Though I have loſt
Much luſtre of my native brightneſs, loſt

Ver. 372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*] This ſtory of Ahab is related, I *Kings*, xxii. 19, &c. "*I ſaw the Lord ſitting on his throne, and all the hoſt of Heaven ſtanding by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord ſaid, Who ſhall perſuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one ſaid on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and ſtood before the Lord, and ſaid, I will perſuade him. And the Lord ſaid unto him, Wherewith? And he ſaid, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he ſaid, Thou ſhalt perſuade him, and prevail alſo: go forth, and do ſo.*" This ſymbolical viſion of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are ſpoken of after the manner of men in condeſcenſion to the weakneſs of their capacities, our author was too good a critick to underſtand literally, though as a poet he repreſents it ſo. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. ——————— *Though I have loſt*
Much luſtre of my native brightneſs,] It is ſaid of Satan, in the firſt Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, v. 591.

——————— "his form had yet *not loſt*
"*All her original brightneſs.*"

And when Ithuriel and Zephon, in the end of the fourth Book, find him in Paradiſe, and charge him with being one of the rebel Spirits adjudged to Hell, Satan aſks, *if they do not know him?* To which Zephon replies,

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To be belov'd of God, I have not loſt
To love, at leaſt contemplate and admire,
What I ſee excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous; I ſhould ſo have loſt all ſenſe:
What can be then leſs in me than deſire
To ſee thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wiſdom, and behold thy God-like deeds?

" Think not, revolted Spirit, thy ſhape the ſame,
" Or undiminiſh'd *brightneſs* to be known,
" As when thou ſtood'ſt in Heaven upright and pure;
" That glory then, when thou no more waſt good,
" Departed from thee;——"

And in *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 97. Satan deſcribes himſelf " chang'd in outward *luſtre*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 379. ——————— *I have not loſt*
To love, at leaſt contemplate and admire,
What I ſee excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous;] In the ſecond Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, where the fallen Angels are deſcribed doing homage to the Public Spirit of their Chief, it is ſaid,

——————— " for neither do the Spirits damn'd
" *Loſe all their virtue.*"

And, where Satan firſt ſees Adam and Eve in Paradiſe, he " contemplates them with admiration." The turn of the words here very much reſembles the following paſſage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*, A. v. S. 1.

" Though I have loſt my fortune, and loſt you
" For a worthy father; yet I will not loſe
" My former virtue; my integrity
" Shall not forſake me." DUNSTER.

Ver. 385. ——————— ——————— *to hear* attent
Thy wiſdom,] Milton ſeems to have borrowed this word *attent*, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, vi. ix. 26.

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Men generally think me much a foe
To all mankind: why ſhould I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence; by them
I loſt not what I loſt, rather by them
I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell,
Copartner in theſe regions of the world,
If not diſpoſer; lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by preſages and ſigns,
And anſwers, oracles, portents and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.
Envy they ſay excites me, thus to gain
Companions of my miſery and woe.

" Whilſt thus he talk'd, the knight with greedy ear
" Hung ſtill upon his melting mouth *attent*." THYER.

Milton's entire expreſſion, to *hear attent*, occurs in the ancient verſion of the Pſalms, attributed to Archbiſhop Parker, bl. l. 4to. p. 382.

" O Lord, aſſent; O *heare attent*
" My wofull voyce." TODD.

Ver. 393. ——————— *lend them oft my aid,*
Oft my advice by preſages and ſigns,
And anſwers, oracles, portents and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.] The following paſſage of Cicero reflects ſo much light on theſe lines, as would incline one to believe that Milton had *it* in his mind. " Multa cernunt haruſpices; multa augures provident; multa *oraculis* declarantur, multa *vaticinationibus*, multa *ſomniis*, multa *portentis*: quibus cognitis, multæ ſæpe res hominum ſententia atque utilitate partæ," (*or, as Lambinus reads*, ex animi ſententia atque utilitate partæ,) " multa etiam pericula depulſa ſunt." *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 65. NEWTON.

Ver. 397. *Envy they ſay excites me, thus to gain*
Companions of my miſery and woe.] " They ſay" is not here merely expletory, or only of *general* reference. It

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At firſt it may be; but, long ſince with woe,
Nearer acquainted, now I feel, by proof,
That fellowſhip in pain divides not ſmart,
Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.
Small conſolation then, were man adjoin'd:
This wounds me moſt, (what can it leſs?) that Man,
Man fallen ſhall be reſtor'd, I never more.

relates to what Raphael in expreſs terms *had ſaid* in the concluſion of the ſixth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, where he warns Adam of Satan's purpoſes againſt him and the motives of them, ver. 900—907. DUNSTER.

Ver. 400. Nearer] *Never*, in Milton's own edition; but, in the table of Errata, it is corrected *Nearer*. Several editions retain the errour. Fenton, however, has rectified it, in his edition of 1730. TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *now I feel, by proof,*
That fellowſhip in pain divides not ſmart,] Our author had in his eye this line of the poet,

" Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris." THYER.

Or theſe of Ovid, *Met.* 15. 547.

" Non tamen Egeriæ luctus aliena levare
" Damna valent." DUNSTER.

Ver. 404. *This wounds me moſt, (what can it leſs?) that Man,*
Man fall'n ſhall be reſtor'd, I never more.] Very artful. As he could not acquit himſelf of envy and miſchief, he endeavours to ſoften his crimes, by aſſigning this cauſe of them. WARBURTON.

The Poet very judiciouſly makes the Tempter conclude with theſe lines concerning the reſtoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to ſay ſomething about the manner of it, to know which was one great part of his deſign, that he might be able, if poſſible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no leſs judgment is our Saviour repreſented in the following anſwer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, *Deſervedly thou griev'ſt*, &c. THYER.

† According to Origen, however, & the Merciful Doctors (as those who held the same opinion were called) even the Devils were to be saved, in the final consummation of all things.

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To whom our Saviour ſternly thus replied.
Deſervedly thou griev'ſt, compos'd of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
Who boaſt'ſt releaſe from Hell, and leave to come
Into the Heaven of Heavens: Thou com'ſt indeed,
As a poor miſerable captive thrall
Comes to the place where he before had ſat
Among the prime in ſplendour, now depos'd,
Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, ſhunn'd,
A ſpectacle of ruin, or of ſcorn,
To all the hoſt of Heaven: The happy place
Imparts to thee no happineſs, no joy;
Rather inflames thy torment; repreſenting
Loſt bliſs, to thee no more communicable,

Ver. 411. *As a poor miſerable captive* thrall] *Thrall* is an old word for ſlave, frequent in Spenſer, as Mr. Dunſter has obſerved. See *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 34. "Like *captive* THRALL." Chaucer uſes it as an adjective, *Fr. Tale*, ad fin.

"Diſpoſeth ay your hertes to withſtond
"The fend, that you wold maken *thrall* and bond."

Again, *Pers. Tale*, Rem. Lux. "Whether thou be male or female, yonge or olde, gentil or *thrall*, &c." TODD.

Ver. 416. ——— *The happy place*
Imparts to thee no happineſs, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment; repreſenting
Loſt bliſs, to thee no more communicable,] We find the ſame ſentiment alſo, in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. ix. 467.

"But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
"Though in mid Heaven, ſoon ended his delight,
"And tortures him now more, the more he ſees
"Of pleaſure, not for him ordain'd." THYER.

Ver. 417. Imparts *to thee*] In all the editions, till that of Tonſon's 1747, it is "*Imports* to thee:" although the errour is deſired to be corrected in Milton's table of Errata. TODD.

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So never more in Hell than when in Heaven.
But thou art ſerviceable to Heaven's King.
Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
Extorts, or pleaſure to do ill excites?
What but thy malice mov'd thee to miſdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him
With all inflictions? but his patience won.
The other ſervice was thy choſen taſk,
To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
For lying is thy ſuſtenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'ſt to truth; all oracles
By thee are given, and what confeſs'd more true
Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,
By mixing ſomewhat true to vent more lies.

Ver. 423. ——— *or pleaſure to do ill excites?*] Satan, in *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 159, in his firſt conference with his infernal compeer, ſays

" To do aught good never will be our taſk;
" But ever *to do ill our ſole delight.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 426. ——— *but his patience* won.] The verb *won* I think is not often uſed as a verb neuter, but I find it ſo in Spenſer's *Facry Queen*, i. vi. 39.

" And he the ſtouteſt knight that ever *won.*"

NEWTON.

Ver. 428. ——— *in four hundred mouths;*] " Then the king of Iſrael gathered the prophets together, *about four hundred men.*" I Kings, xxii. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. ——— *that hath been thy craft*
By mixing ſomewhat true to vent more lies.] The following paſſage from St. Auſtin may ſerve to illuſtrate what Milton here ſays, " Miſcent tamen iſti [Dæmones] fallacias; et verum quod nôſſe potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi fine, prænuntiant." *De Div. Dæmon.* Sect. 12. THYER.

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But what have been thy anſwers, what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double ſenſe deluding,
Which they who aſk'd have ſeldom underſtood,
And not well underſtood as good not known?
Who ever by conſulting at thy ſhrine

Ver. 434. *But what have been thy anſwers, what but dark, Ambiguous, and with double ſenſe deluding,*] The oracles were often ſo obſcure and dubious, that there was need of other oracles to explain them. " Sed jam ad te venio,

" Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obſides,
" Unde ſuperſtitioſa primum ſæva evaſit vox fera."

" Tuis enim oraculis Chryſippus totum volumen implevit, partim falſis, ut ego opinor, partim caſu veris, ut fit in omni oratione ſæpiſſime; partim *flexiloquis, et obſcuris, ut interpres egeat interprete, et ſors ipſa ad ſortes referenda ſit; partim ambiguis, et quæ ad dialecticum deferenda ſint.*" Cicero *De Div.* ii. 56.

CALTON.

Milton, in theſe lines about the Heathen oracles, ſeems to have had in view what Euſebius ſays more copiouſly upon this ſubject in the fifth Book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*. That learned father reaſons in the very ſame way about them, and gives many inſtances from hiſtory of their deluſive and double meanings.

THYER.

Probably Milton had here in mind the exclamation alſo of Macbeth, when he finds that the weird ſiſters had ſhuffled him with ambiguous expreſſions, *Macbeth*, A. and S. ult.

" And be theſe juggling fiends no more believ'd,
" That *palter with us in a double ſenſe.*"

But ſee alſo Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angels*, fol. 1635, p. 442, where the " doubtfull anſwers" of oracles are noticed, and rightly deſcribed:

" So intricate that none could vnderſtand,
" Or meerely toyes and lies; for their words were,
" By interpointing, ſo diſpos'd, to beare
" A *double ſence.*" TODD.

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Return'd the wiſer, or the more inſtruct,
To fly or follow what concern'd him moſt,
And run not ſooner to his fatal ſnare?
For God hath juſtly given the nations up
To thy deluſions; juſtly, ſince they fell
Idolatrous: but, when his purpoſe is
Among them to declare his providence
To thee not known, whence haſt thou then thy truth,
But from him, or his Angels preſident
In every province, who, themſelves diſdaining

Ver. 439. ——————— *inſtruct,*] Thus, B. ii. ver. 399, he writes *ſuſpect* for *ſuſpected.* In the *Paradiſe Loſt* he always writes the participles at length; but in this Poem he has in every reſpect condenſed his ſtyle, which may be one reaſon why it does not pleaſe the million. DUNSTER.

But he abbreviates the participle alſo in *Par. Loſt;* as he writes *unſuſpect* for *unſuſpected,* B. ix. 771. And, in his Tranſlation of the 6th *Pſalm,* he writes *deject* for *dejected.* He was preceded by Shakſpeare, *Hamlet,* A. iii. S. i.

" And I of ladies moſt *deject,* and wretched." TODD.

Ver. 447. *But from him, or his Angels preſident*
In every province,] " Utitur etiam eis Deus (Dæmonibus) ad veritatis manifeſtationem per ipſos fiendam, dum divina myſteria eis per Angelos revelantur." The words are quoted from Aquinas (2da 2dæ *Quæſt.* 172. Art. 6.) CALTON.

This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Auſtin. Tertullian, ſpeaking of the Gods of the Heathens and their oracles, ſays—" Diſpoſitiones etiam Dei & tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, & nunc lectionibus reſonantibus carpunt. Ita & hinc ſumentes quaſdam temporum ſortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, ſcient Crœſi, ſciunt Pyrrhi." *Apol.* C. 22. St. Auſtin, more appoſitely to our preſent purpoſe, anſwering the Heathen boaſts of their oracles,

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To approach thy temples, give thee in command
What, to the ſmalleſt tittle, thou ſhalt ſay
To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning paraſite, obey'ſt:
Then to thyſelf aſcrib'ſt the truth foretold.
But this thy glory ſhall be ſoon retrench'd;
No more ſhalt thou by oracling abuſe
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,

ſays—" tamen nec iſta ipſa, quæ ab eis vix raro & clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, ſi cuiquam Dæmonum extortum eſt id prodere cultoribus ſuis quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel ex oraculis Angelorum." Aug. *De Div. Dæmonum*, ſect. 12. tom. 6. ed. Bened. And again, " Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernóſque ſpiritus aliquem vera cognoſcere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad iſtam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile eſt, & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & juſtus ad eorum pœnam, quibus iſta prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendet ante quam veniat prænoſcendo patiantur, occulto apparatu miniſteriorum ſuorum etiam ſpiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat, ut quod audiunt ab Angelis, prænuntient hominibus." *De Div. Quæſt. ad Simpl.* L. 2. S. 3. Tom. 6. THYER.

Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading in *Deuteronomy*. Ὅτι διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη—ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. WARBURTON.

Ver. 453. *Then to thyſelf aſcrib'ſt the truth foretold.*] The Demons, Lactantius ſays, could certainly foreſee, and truly foretel, many future events, from the knowledge they had of the diſpoſitions of providence before their fall. And then they aſſumed all the honour to themſelves, pretending to be the authors and doers of what they predicted. " Nam cum diſpoſitiones Dei præſentiant, quippe qui miniſtri ejus fuerunt, interponunt ſe in his rebus; ut quæcunque à Deo vel facta ſunt vel fiunt ipſi potiſſimum facere, aut feciſſe videantur." *Div. Inſt.* ii. 16. CALTON.

Ver. 456. ——— *henceforth oracles are ceas'd*, &c.] As Milton had before adopted the ancient opinion of oracles being

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And thou no more with pomp and ſacrifice
Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elſewhere;
At leaſt in vain, for they ſhall find thee mute.
God hath now ſent his living oracle 460

the operations of the fallen Angels, ſo here again he follows the ſame authority, in making them ceaſe at the coming of our Saviour. See this matter fully diſcuſſed in Fontenelle's Hiſtory of Oracles, and Father Baltus's anſwer to him. THYER.

Thus Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 554;

——— " *Delphis oracula ceſſant.*"

And in the fifth Book of Lucan's *Pharſalia*, where Appius is deſirous to conſult the Delphick oracle, but finds it dumb, the prieſteſs tells him;

——— " *Muto Parnaſſus hiatu*
" *Conticuit*, preſsítque Deum, ſeu ſpiritus iſtas
" Deſtituit fauces, mundíque in devia verſum
" Duxit iter."

——— " ſeu ſponte Deorum
" Cyrrha *filet.*"

Thus alſo Milton, in his *Hymn on the Nativity*;

" The *oracles are dumb*, &c."

And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his *Chriſt's Victory in Heaven*, ſt. 82.

" The Angels caroll'd loud their ſong of peace,
" The curſed *oracles were ſtrucken dumb.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 460. ——— *his living oracle*] Chriſt is ſtyled by the Greek Fathers ἀυτοζωὴ, ζῶσα βουλὴ, λόγος ζῶν, *eſſential life, the living counſel*, and *the living word of God*. And St. John ſays, that " *in him was life, and the life was the light of men.*" i. 4. CALTON.

And in *Acts*, vii. 38. where it is ſaid, " *Who received the lively* (or living) *oracles to give unto us*," inſtead of λόγια ζῶντα, ſome copies read λόγον ζῶντα. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *his* living *oracle*
Into the world &c.] Dr. Newton ſays he has here col-

Into the world to teach his final will,
And ſends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, an inward oracle
To all truth requiſite for men to know.
So ſpake our Saviour; but the ſubtle Fiend,
Though inly ſtung with anger and diſdain,
Diſſembled, and this anſwer ſmooth return'd.
Sharply thou haſt inſiſted on rebuke,
And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will
But miſery hath wreſted from me. Where
Eaſily canſt thou find one miſerable,
And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth,
If it may ſtand him more in ſtead to lie,
Say and unſay, feign, flatter, or abjure?
But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and muſt ſubmiſs, endure
Check or reproof, and glad to 'ſcape ſo quit.
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,

rected an errour, which had prevailed in moſt of the editions, except Milton's own, "*loving* oracle" inſtead of "*living* oracle." He notices another errour a little afterwards, "*and* inward oracle" inſtead of "*an* inward oracle." Fenton had alſo rectified this laſt miſtake. And Tonſon's edit. of 1747 had rectified both. TODD.

Ver. 468. *Sharply thou haſt* &c.] The ſmoothneſs and hypocriſy of this ſpeech of Satan are artful in the extreme, and cannot be paſſed over unobſerved. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 474. *Say and unſay, feign, flatter, or abjure?*] Might not Milton poſſibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to laſh ſome of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Reſtoration? THYER.

Ver. 478. *'Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,*] Thus Silius Italicus, Book xv, where Virtue is the ſpeaker;

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Smooth on the tongue diſcours'd, pleaſing to the ear,
And tuneable as ſylvan pipe or ſong;
What wonder then if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? Moſt men admire
Virtue, who follow not her lore: permit me
To hear thee when I come, (ſince no man comes,)
And talk at leaſt, though I deſpair to attain.
Thy Father, who is holy, wiſe, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous prieſt

" Caſta mihi domus, et *celſo ſtant colle penates;*
" *Ardua ſaxoſo perducit ſemita clivo;*
" *Aſper* principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos eſt,)
" Proſequitur labor. *Adnitendum intrare volenti.*"

Simonides places Virtue δυσιμβατοις επι πετραις. DUNSTER.

Ver. 480. —— tuneable *as ſylvan pipe or ſong;*] So, in *Par. Loſt*, v. 149.

—— " ſuch prompt eloquence
" Flow'd from their lips in proſe, or numerous verſe,
" *More tuneable than needed lute or harp*
" *To add more ſweetneſs.*"

And Shakſpeare, *Midſ. N. Dr.* A. i. S. xiv.

" *More tuneable* than lark to ſhepherd's ear."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 482. —— *Moſt men admire*
Virtue, who follow not her lore:] Imitated from the well-known ſaying of Medea, Ovid *Met.* vii. 20.

—— " Video meliora, proboque;
" Deteriora ſequor." NEWTON.

Ver. 487. —— *atheous*] Cicero, ſpeaking of Diagoras, ſays, " *atheos* qui dictus eſt." *De Nat. Deor.* i. 23.

DUNSTER.

Atheous may have hence been coined by the poet. *Atheal*, which has the ſame ſignification, is not uncommon in old Engliſh.

TODD.

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To tread his ſacred courts, and miniſter
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing; and vouchſaf'd his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inſpir'd: diſdain not ſuch acceſs to me.
To whom our Saviour, with unalter'd brow:
Thy coming hither, though I know thy ſcope,
I bid not, or forbid; do as thou find'ſt
Permiſſion from above; thou canſt not more.

Ver. 488. *To tread his ſacred courts,*] "When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, *to tread my courts?*" Iſaiah, i. 12. DUNSTER.

Ver. 490. *Praying or vowing;*] Beſides ſacrifices of prayer and thankſgiving, the Jews had vow-ſacrifices, (*Lev.* vii. 16.) oblations for vows, (xxii. 18.) and ſacrifices in performing their vows (*Numbers*, xv. 3. 8.) DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *and vouchſaf'd his voice*
To Balaam reprobate,] An argument more plauſible and more fallacious could not have been put into the mouth of the Tempter. Perfectly to enter into all the circumſtances of this remarkable piece of Scripture hiſtory, and clearly to apprehend the judicious application of it by the poet in this place, we may refer to biſhop Butler's excellent Sermon on *the Character of Balaam*, or to Shuckford's account of it in the twelfth Book of his *Connection of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 494. Thy coming hither, *though I know thy* ſcope,] Shakſpeare, *Rich.* II. A. 3. S. 3.

"His *coming hither* had no farther *ſcope*
"Than for his lineal royalties." DUNSTER.

Ver. 496. ——— *thou canſt not more.*] So Gabriel replies to Satan, *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 1006.

"Satan, I know thy ſtrength, and thou know'ſt mine;
"Neither our own, but given: What folly then
"To boaſt what arms can do? ſince *thine no more*
"*Than Heaven permits.*" TODD.

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He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray diſſimulation, diſappear'd
Into thin air diffus'd: for now began
Night with her ſullen wings to double-ſhade

Ver. 499. *Into* thin air *diffus'd*:] So Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 278.

" Et procul *in tenuem* ex oculis *evanuit auram*."

NEWTON.

And Shakſpeare, *Tempeſt*, A. 4. S. ii.

——— " theſe our actors,
" As I foretold you, were all ſpirits, and
" Are *melted into air*, into *thin air*." DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *for now began*
Night with her ſullen wings to double-ſhade
The deſart; fowls in their clay neſts were couch'd;
And now wild beaſts came forth the woods to roam.]

This brief deſcription of night coming on in the deſart is ſingularly fine. It is a ſmall but exquiſite *ſketch*, which ſo immediately ſhews the *hand of the maſter*, that his larger and more finiſhed pieces can hardly be rated higher. The commencement of this deſcription, both in reſpect of its beginning with an hemiſtich, and alſo in the ſort of inſtantaneous coming on of night which it repreſents, reſembles much a paſſage in Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. iii. ſt. 71.

" Coſi diſs' egli;—e *gia* la Notte oſcura
" Havea tutti del giorno i raggi ſpenti." DUNSTER.

Ver. 500. ——— *her ſullen wings*] Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 369.

" Nox ruit, et *fuſcis* tellurem amplectitur *alis*."

And Taſſo deſcribes Night covering the ſky *with her wings*, Gier. Lib. c. viii. ſt. 57.

" Sorgea la Notte in tanto, e *ſotto l' ali*
" Recopriva del Cielo i campi immenſi."

Compare Spenſer alſo, *Faery Queen*, vi. viii. 44.

——— " and now the Even-tide
" His *broad black wings* had through the Heavens wide
" By this diſpread."

And ſee *Allegro*, ver. 6. DUNSTER.

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The desart; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;

Ver. 500. ——————— *to double shade*
The desart;] i. e. to double the natural shade and darkness of the place. This is more fully expressed in Hogæus's translation of this passage.

" Nam nunc obscuras Nox atra expandere pennas
" Cæperat, atque *nigras nemorum geminare tenebras.*"

Thus, in *Comus*, v. 335.

" *In double night of darkness and of shades;*"

In a note on which last verse, in Mr. Warton's edition of the *Juvenile Poems*, the following line of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero, (*De Divinat.* i. 14.) is exhibited;

" Tenebræ *conduplicantur*, noctisque et nimborum occæcat nigror."

We may also compare Ovid, *Met.* xi. 548;

" ——————— tanta vertigine pontus
" Fervet, et inductâ piceis a nubibus umbrâ
" Omne latet cœlum, *duplicatâque noctis imago est.*"

And see ibid. 521. DUNSTER.

But, as I have formerly observed in a note on the verse just cited by Mr. Dunster from *Comus*, the verb *double-shade* might have been suggested by a bold expression in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, edit. 1621, p. 1177.

" *Double-nighted* in dark errour."

Dryden perhaps had this passage of *Par. Regained* in view, when he penned the following lines in *Aureng-zebe*, A. v. S. i.

" The *Night* seems *doubled* with the fear she brings,
" And, o'er the citadel, new-spreads her *wings.*"

Milton's " *double night* of darkness and of shades" has also afforded Young an opportunity of moral adaptation, *Night-Thought*, i. 43.

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And now wild beafts came forth the woods to roam.

" Through this opaque of Nature and of Soul,
" *This double night.*" TODD.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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THE

SECOND BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

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THE ARGUMENT.

The Disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety: in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his Infernal Council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our Blessed Lord, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the Heathen Gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of the circumstance of our Lord's hungering; and, taking a band of chosen Spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desart.—Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described.—Morning advances.—Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes.—Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power: This Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.

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PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

MEAN while the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd
At Jordan with the Baptiſt, and had ſeen
Him whom they heard ſo late expreſsly call'd

Ver. 1. *Mean while the new-baptiz'd*, &c.] The greateſt, and indeed juſteſt, objection to this Poem is the narrowneſs of its plan, which, being confined to that ſingle ſcene of our Saviour's life on earth, his Temptation in the Deſart, has too much ſameneſs in it, too much of the reaſoning, and too little of the deſcriptive part; a defect moſt certainly in an epick poem, which ought to conſiſt of a proper and happy mixture of the inſtructive and the delightful. Milton was himſelf, no doubt, ſenſible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciouſly contrived and introduced all the little digreſſions that could with any ſort of propriety connect with his ſubject, in order to relieve and refreſh the reader's attention. The following converſation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the miſſing of our Saviour ſo long, with the Virgin's reflections on the ſame occaſion, and the council of the Devils how beſt to attack their enemy, are inſtances of this ſort, and both very happily executed in their reſpective ways. The language of the former is cool and unaffected, correſponding moſt exactly to the humble pious character of the ſpeakers: that of the latter is full of energy and majeſty, and not inferiour to their moſt ſpirited ſpeeches in the *Paradiſe Loſt*. THYER.

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Jeſus Meſſiah, Son of God declar'd,
And on that high authority had believ'd,
And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd; I mean
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,

Ver. 4. *Jeſus Meſſiah, Son of God declar'd,*] This is a great miſtake in the Poet. All that the people could collect from the declarations of John the Baptiſt, and the voice from Heaven, was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promiſed Meſſiah. WARBURTON.

But ſurely the declaration, *by the voice from Heaven*, of Jeſus being *the beloved Son of God* was, as Milton terms it, "high authority" for believing that he was the MESSIAH.—John the Baptiſt had alſo, *John* i. 29, expreſsly called him "*the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſin of the world*," referring, as is generally ſuppoſed, to *Iſaiah*, liii. 7. And, the day following, John's giving him the ſame title, "*Behold the Lamb of God!*" (*John*, i. 36.) is the ground of Andrew's converſion, who thereupon followed Jeſus, and having paſſed ſome time with him, declared to his brother Peter, "*We have found the Meſſias, which is, being interpreted, the Chriſt*," John, i. 41. DUNSTER.

Ver. 6. *And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd;*] Theſe particulars are founded, (as Dr. Newton obſerves,) on what is related in the firſt chapter of St. John, reſpecting two of John's diſciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangeliſt himſelf, *following Jeſus* to the place *where he dwelt*, and *abiding with him that day*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——————— I mean
Andrew and Simon,] This ſounds very proſaick; but I find a like inſtance or two in Harrington's tranſlation of the *Orlando Furioſo*, c. xxxi. ſt. 46.

"And calling ſtill upon that noble name,
"That often had the Pagans overcome,
"(*I mean* Renaldo's houſe of Montalbane)."

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With others though in Holy Writ not nam'd;
Now miſſing him, their joy ſo lately found,
(So lately found, and ſo abruptly gone,)
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
And, as the days encreas'd, encreas'd their doubt.
Sometimes they thought he might be only ſhown,
And for a time caught up to God, as once
Moſes was in the mount and miſſing long,
And the great Thiſbite, who on fiery wheels

And again, ſt. 55.

" How ſhe had ſeen the bridge the Pagan made,
" (*I mean* the cruel Pagan Rodomont)." NEWTON.

The ſame form is uſed by Sylveſter, *Du Bart.* edit. 1621, p. 20.

" *I mean* that Chaos, that ſelf-jarring maſs."

See alſo ib. p. 182. DUNSTER.

Ver. 13. *Sometimes they thought he might be only ſhown,*] Virg. *Æn.* vi. 870.

" Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
" Eſſe ſinent." NEWTON.

Ver. 16. *And the great* Thiſbite, *who on fiery wheels*
Rode up to Heaven,] Elijah, ſnatched up into heaven in a fiery chariot, was a favourite image in Milton's early years, and perfectly coincided with his caſt of genius. Thus, in his *Ode on the Paſſion*, ſt. VI.

" See, ſee the chariot, and thoſe ruſhing wheels,
" That whirl'd the Prophet up at Chebar flood."

And *In Obit. Præſul. Eliens*, ver. 49.

" Vates ut olim *raptus* ad cœlum ſenex,
" Auriga currus ignei."

And I think we may trace it more than once in the *Proſe-Works*, either by compariſon or alluſion. The " *fiery-wheeled* throne," in *Il Penſeroſo*, has another origin. T. WARTON.

Mr. Dunſter adds, from the Poet's *In Proditionem Bombardicam*, ver. 5.

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Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come:

" Scilicet hos alti miſſurus ad atria cœli,
" Sulphureo curru, *flammivoliſque rotis:*
" Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,
" Liquit Iördanios turbine *raptus* agros."

Milton ſeems, in his deſcriptions of the prophet, to have had in mind Sylveſter, *Du Bart.* edit. 1621. p. 72.

" Pure Spirit, that *rapt'ſt* above the firmeſt ſphear,
" In *fiery coach* thy faithful meſſenger, &c."

See likewiſe the note *In Obit. Præſ. El.* ver. 48. Or, as Mr. Dunſter alſo remarks, Sylveſter might have been a prompter in the following lines, *Du Bart.* p. 295.

" O, thou fair Chariot flaming brauely bright,
" Which like a whirl-winde in thy ſwift career
" *Rapt'ſt* vp the *Theſbit.*"

Milton, in like manner, writes " vates terræ *Theſbitidis,*" Eleg. iv. 97. But Caſtalio likewiſe defends this orthography: " Elias autem *Theſbita* &c." Regum Lib. iii. cap. 17. ed. Baſil. 1573. Dr. Newton explains *Thiſbite* by adding, Or *Tiſhbite*, as Elijah is called in the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible; and that Elijah was a native of *Thiſbe*, or *Tiſhbe*, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan. Elijah is called " the *Theſbian* prophet," in Sandys's *Chriſt's Paſſion*, ed. 1640, p. 51. TODD.

Ver. 17. ——————— *yet once again to come:*] It hath been the opinion of the Church, that there would be an Elias before Chriſt's ſecond coming, as well as before his firſt: and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede ſupports from the prophecy of Malachi, iv. 5. " *Behold, I will ſend you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord,* &c." and from what our Saviour ſays, Matt. xvii. 11. " *Elias truly ſhall firſt come, and reſtore all things.*" Theſe words our Saviour ſpake when John Baptiſt was beheaded, and yet ſpeaks as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, " *and ſhall reſtore all things.*" But as it was not Elias in perſon, but only in ſpirit, who appeared before our Saviour's firſt coming, ſo will it alſo be before his ſecond. The reader may ſee the arguments at large, in Mr. Mede's *Diſcourſe* XXV. which no doubt Milton had read,

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Therefore, as thoſe young prophets then with care
Sought loſt Elijah, ſo in each place theſe
Nigh to Bethabara, in Jericho 20

not only on account of the fame and excellence of the writer, but as he was alſo his fellow-collegian. NEWTON.

Though our Saviour uſed the word ἀποκαταστήσει in the future tenſe, ſomething muſt be previouſly underſtood to limit the ſenſe of it to what was then paſſed, to a prophecy already accompliſhed. Biſhop Pearce in his commentary on the paſſage has, "*was to come* firſt and reſtore all things." And Beza, in a note on the place, ſays, "Hæc autem intelligenda ſunt, forma dicendi e medio petita, perinde ac ſi diceret Chriſtus, *Verum quidem eſt quod Scribæ dicunt etiam videlicet antegreſſurum fuiſſe Meſſiam, et ſecuturæ inſtaurationi viam aperturum; ſed dico vobis Eliam jam veniſſe*, &c." It was however the general tradition of the elder writers of the Chriſtian Church, from thoſe words of Malachi, that Elias the Tiſhbite was to come in perſon before our Lord's ſecond advent; which opinion, the Jeſuit De la Cerda, in his Commentary on *Tertullian De Reſurrect. Carn.* C. 23. ſays, all the ancient Fathers have delivered, "*tradit tota Patrum antiquitas.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 20. *Nigh to Bethabara,*] It has been obſerved in a preceding note (B. i. ver. 193.) that M. D'Anville, in the map of Judea in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. Adrichomius, in his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, places Bethabara on the eaſtern bank of the river Jordan, at a ſmall diſtance from the Dead Sea, nearly oppoſite Jericho. Indeed if we conſider it to have been the place where the Iſraelites paſſed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on which ever ſide of the river we place it, it muſt have been nearly oppoſite Jericho, as it is expreſsly ſaid, *Joſhua* iii. 16. *the people paſſed over right againſt Jericho.* The Eaſtern Travellers alſo ſhow that the place, where the tradition of that country ſuppoſes Jeſus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day's journey diſtant from Jeruſalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pocock's Travels in the Eaſt, and Maundrel's Journal.) Biſhop Pearce places Bethabara on the ſame ſide of the river with Jericho, that is, on

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The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,

the weſtern bank. This opinion he grounds on what is ſaid, *Judges*, vii. 24. about the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim *taking the waters*, (i. e. taking poſſeſſion of all the ſprings,) from them *unto Bethabarah and Jordan*. Bethabara indeed (*John*, i. 28,) is deſcribed *beyond Jordan*, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου; but this Biſhop Pearce reconciles by ſhewing that πέραν often ſignifies in Scripture, *on the ſide of*, or *on this ſide of*. For this conſtruction of πέραν, he cites many authorities in his note on *Matt.* iv. 15, and likewiſe refers to Caſaubon's note on *John*, i. 28. But it ſhould be obſerved that Beza has the ſame remark, and that he renders πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου not *trans Jordanum*, but *ſecus Jordanum*, "nigh to Jordan," both in *Matt.* iv. 15, and *John*, i. 28. St. Jerom, *De Nominibus Hebræis*, ſpeaks of Bethabara as ſtanding partly on the weſtern, and partly on the eaſtern, bank of the river Jordan.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 21. *The city of palms*, &c.] *Jericho* is called *the city of palms*, Deut. xxxiv. 3. And Joſephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers deſcribe it as abounding with thoſe trees. *Ænon* is mentioned, *John*, iii. 23, as is likewiſe *Salim* or *Salem*. But there appears to be no particular reaſon for our author's calling it *Salem old*, unleſs he takes it to be the ſame with the *Shalem* mentioned, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. or confounds it with the *Salem* where Melchizedek was king. *Machærus* was a caſtle in the mountainous part of *Peræa* or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run through the lake of *Genezareth*, or the ſea of Tiberias, or the ſea of Galilee, as it is otherwiſe called. So that they ſearched in each place *on this ſide* Jordan, or in *Peræa*, πέραν Ἰορδάνου, *beyond it*. NEWTON.

By the expreſſion *on this ſide the broad lake Genezareth*, I would underſtand not *on the oppoſite ſide of the river to Peræa*, but *below the lake of Genezareth*, or *to the ſouth of it*, between that and the Aſphaltick Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the ſituation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly ſaid to have ſtood on *this ſide*, that is on the weſtern ſide of the lake of Genezareth, though three of them ſtood on the weſtern ſide of the river Jordan. *Or* in Peræa, may be only underſtood to mean *and* in Peræa, or *even* in Peræa. Such is

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Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
On this ſide the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.
Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek, 25

often the conjunctive ſenſe of *vel*, and ſometimes of *aut* in Latin, and of ἤ in Greek. It is probable that Milton had the ſame idea of the ſituation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by biſhop Pearce, and before ſuggeſted by Beza and Caſaubon. This he may be ſuppoſed to have acquired from Beza, whoſe tranſlation of the Greek Teſtament with notes, we may imagine, was in no ſmall degree of repute, at the time when our author viſited Geneva. Accordingly the firſt place where he makes the diſciples ſeek Jeſus is Jericho, on the ſame ſide of the river as Bethabara, and the neareſt place of any conſequence to it; then Ænon and Salem, both likewiſe on the ſame ſide, but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth; then he ſeems to make them croſs the river and ſeek him in all the places in the oppoſite country of Peræa, down to the town and ſtrong fortreſs of Machærus, which is mentioned by Joſephus, *De bello Jud.* L. 7. C. 6. Milton had good authority for terming Salem, *Salem old.* St. Jerom ſhews, that the Salem, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. was not Jeruſalem, "ſed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod uſque hodie appellatur Salem; ubi oſtenditur palatium Melchizedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis oſtendens magnificentiam." See *Hieronym. Epiſt.* cxxvi. *ad Evag.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 25. —— *on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,*
Where winds with reeds *and oſiers* whiſpering *play,*]

Mr. Dunſter obſerves, that Maundrell, in his *Journey to Jeruſalem*, &c. deſcribes the river Jordan as having its banks in ſome parts covered ſo thick with buſhes and trees, ſuch as tamariſks, oleanders, and willows, that they prevented the water from being ſeen till any one had made his way through them. In this thicket, he ſays, ſeveral ſorts of wild beaſts harbour, which are frequently waſhed out of their covert by the ſudden over-flowings of the river. Hence that alluſion in *Jeremiah*, xlix. 19. "Behold, he ſhall come up like a lion from the ſwelling of Jordan." The ſame critick alſo notices the refer-

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Where winds with reeds and oſiers whiſpering play,

ence made to the reedy banks of Jordan, in Giles Fletcher's *Chriſt's Triumph over Death*, ſt. 2.

" Or *whiſtling reeds* that rutty Jordan laves."

Milton, by the diſtinction which he here makes, had perhaps noticed Sandys's account of Jordan, in his *Travels*; who ſays, " Paſſing along, it maketh *two* lakes; *the one* in the Vpper Galilee, named Samachonitis (now Houle), in the ſummer for the moſt part dry, *ouergrowne with ſhrubs and reeds*, which afford a ſhelter for bores and leopards. *The other* in the Inferior, called the Sea of Galilee, *the lake of Genezareth*, and of Tyberias, &c." p. 141. edit. 1615. TODD.

Ver. 26. ——————— whiſpering *play*,] The *whiſpering* of the wind is an image that Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced in many beautiful paſſages of his *Paradiſe Loſt*. Thus, in the opening of the fifth Book, where Adam wakens Eve;

——————— " then with voice
" Mild, *as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes*,
" Her hand ſoft touching, *whiſper'd* thus."

He alſo applies *whiſpering* to the flowing of a ſtream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by the ſide of it; and to the combined ſounds of the breeze and the current. In the fourth Book of this Poem, he terms the river Ilyſſus, a " *whiſpering* ſtream." And in *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 325, he deſcribes

——————— " a tuft of ſhade that on a green
" Stood *whiſpering ſoft*, *by a freſh fountain ſide*."

In his *Lycidas*, ver. 136. likewiſe, he addreſſes the

——— " valleys low, where the *mild whiſpers uſe*
" *Of ſhades, and wanton winds, and guſhing brooks*."

See alſo *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 158, viii. 516. " The *mild whiſper* of the refreſhing breeze" he had before introduced in his Latin poem, *In Adventum Veris*, ver. 27. which might have been originally ſuggeſted to him by Virgil's *Culex*, v. 152.

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Plain fiſhermen, (no greater men them call,)
Cloſe in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loſs and plaints out breath'd.
Alas, from what high hope to what relapſe
Unlook'd for are we fallen! our eyes beheld
Meſſiah certainly now come, ſo long

" At circa paſſim feſſæ cubuere capellæ,
" Excelsíſque ſuper dumis; quos *leniter adflans*
" *Aura ſuſurrantis* poſit confundere *venti*." DUNSTER.

A very pleaſing paſſage may be here adduced from our ancient poetry, with which alſo we may compare the opening of the fifth Book of Paradiſe Loſt, *The Whipping of the Satyre* by W. J. 12mo. 1601.

" There breath'd the ſpirit of ſweete *Zephyrus*
" *Among the leaues whiſpring with ſtillcſt voyce,*
" And criſtall ſprings through ſiluer pipes did guſh,
" *Inuiting ſleepe with gentle muttering noyſe:*
" There ſweetly warbled Nature's feather'd quires,
" Embow'd with ſhady bough-combynding briers."

Compare Milton's *L'Allegro* alſo, ver. 116. where ſee the note. But, after all, we may rather apply, to the paſſage before us, the more ancient ſtrains which were familiar to Milton. See Orph. *Argonaut.* ver. 1131.

——— ϖαταγεῖ δὲ ϖαρ' ἰχθυσιν ϖοταμοῖο
Δίνδρια τηλεθάοντα ϖοτὶ σχιδόν. TODD.

Ver. 27. *Plain fiſhermen*, (no greater men them call,)] Thus Spenſer, in the beginning of his *Shepherd's Calendar*,

" A ſhepherd's boy, (*no better do him call*)."

NEWTON.

Ver. 30. *Alas, from* what *high hope &c.*] So we read in the firſt edition: In moſt of the others it is abſurdly printed " Alas, from *that* high hope." The ſentiment is from Ter. *Heaut.* A. ii. S. ii.

——" væ miſero mihi, quanta de ſpe decidi!"

NEWTON.

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Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth;
Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand,
The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd;
Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
Into perplexity and new amaze:
For whither is he gone, what accident
Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israël,
Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come!
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
Thy chosen; to what highth their power unjust

Ver. 34. ——— *full of grace and truth;*] "And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, *full of grace and truth.*" John, i. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 40. *Hath* rapt *him from us?*] Hath *snatch'd* him *away* from us. See the note on ver. 16, and also Mr. Warton's note on *Il Penf.* ver. 40. Milton is here pronounced, by Mr. Gilb. Wakefield, guilty of an errour, in having written, as he says, *wrapt*. See Wakefield's Pope, 8vo. 1794, vol. i. p. 53. But Mr. Wakefield unjustly accuses the great poet. For Milton's own edition reads *rapt*. TODD.

Ver. 42. ——— *God of Israel,*
Send thy Messiah forth, &c.] This sudden turn and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful. The prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. *Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress*
Thy chosen;] "The *kings of the earth* set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed." *Psalm* ii. 2. It is probable, that an allusion is here intended to the situation of Milton's Party at the Restoration. DUNSTER.

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They have exalted, and behind them caſt
All fear of thee; ariſe, and vindicate
Thy glory; free thy people from their yoke!
But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him,
By his great Prophet, pointed at and ſhown
In publick, and with him we have convers'd;
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his Providence; he will not fail,
Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall,
Mock us with his bleſt ſight, then ſnatch him hence;
Soon we ſhall ſee our Hope, our Joy, return.
Thus they, out of their plaints, new hope reſume
To find whom at the firſt they found unſought:
But, to his mother Mary, when ſhe ſaw
Others return'd from Baptiſm, not her ſon,
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,

Ver. 46. ——————— *and behind them caſt*
All fear of thee;] "Nevertheleſs they were diſobedient and rebelled againſt thee, and *caſt thy law behind their backs.*" Nehemiah, ix. 26. DUNSTER.

Ver. 51. ——————— *pointed* at *and ſhown*] Should it not rather be "pointed *out*?" Though perhaps Milton had in his mind Perſius, *Sat.* i. 28. "*Digito monſtrari*, et dicier hic eſt." DUNSTER.

Ver. 60. *But*, to *his mother* &c.] Mr. Calton very ingeniouſly propoſed to read, "But, *O* his mother Mary, &c." as the common reading makes an embarraſſed ſentence.
✗ *O*, Mr. Calton, Mr. Warton *O*! JOS. WARTON.

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Within her breaſt though calm, her breaſt though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
Some troubled thoughts, which ſhe in ſighs thus clad;
O, what avails me now that honour high

Ver. 65. *Some troubled thoughts, which ſhe in ſighs thus* clad.] It is hardly poſſible not to notice the ſtriking beauty of this line. There is a paſſage ſomewhat reſembling it in *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 620. "*Words, interwove with ſighs*, found out their way." In *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 17, the prayers of our firſt parents are "*clad* with incenſe." Compare Cicero: "Sententias reconditas exquiſitáſque mollis et pellucens *veſtiebat* oratio." *De Clar. Orator.* 274. ed. Prouſt. DUNSTER.

Sandys, in his Paraphraſe of the 77th Pſalm, thus forcibly deſcribes the effort of affliction, edit. 1636. p. 124.

"Words faile my griefe; *ſighes* only *ſpake*,
"Which from my panting boſome brake." TODD.

Ver. 66. *O, what avails me now that honour high* &c.] In ſeveral parts of this ſpeech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verſe 77, and from verſe 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary's lamentation under the Croſs, *Chriſt*, v. 870.

"At non certe olim præpes demiſſus Olympo
"Nuntius hæc pavidæ dederat promiſſa puellæ,
"*Sic una ante alias felix ego, ſic ego cœli*
"*Incœlo regina? mea eſt hæc gloria magna,*
"*Hic meus altus honos.* Quo reges munera opima
"Obtulerunt mihi poſt partus? Quo carmina læta
"Cœleſtes cecinere chori, ſi me iſta manebat
"Sors tamen, et vitam, cladem hanc viſura, trahebam?
"Felices illæ, *natos quibus impius hauſit*
"*Inſontes regis furor ipſo in limine vitæ*,
"Dum tibi vana timens funus molitur acerbum:
"Ut cuperem te *diluvio* cecidiſſe ſub illo!

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To have conceiv'd of God, or that ſalute,
" Hail, highly favour'd, among women bleſt!"
While I to ſorrows am no leſs advanc'd,
And fears as eminent, above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore;
In ſuch a ſeaſon born, when ſcarce a ſhed
Could be obtain'd to ſhelter him or me
From the bleak air; a ſtable was our warmth,
A manger his; yet ſoon enforc'd to fly
Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
Were dead, who ſought his life, and miſſing fill'd
With infant blood the ſtreets of Bethlehem;
From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth

" Hos, *hos horribili monitu trepidantia corda*
" *Terrificans ſenior luctus ſperare jubebat,*
" *Et cecinit fore, cum pectus mihi figeret enſis:*
" Nunc altè mucro, nunc altè vulnus adactum."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 75. ——— *yet ſoon enforc'd to fly* &c.] We may compare the following ſtanza of Giles Fletcher's *Chriſt's Victory in Heaven.*

" And yet but newly he was infanted,
" And yet already he was ſought to die;
" Yet ſcarcely born, already baniſhed,
" Not able yet to go, and *forc'd to fly;*
" But ſcarcely fled away, when by and by
" The Tyrant's ſword with blood is all defil'd, &c."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 79. ——— *in Nazareth*
Hath been our dwelling many years;] She mentions this as part of their diſtreſs, becauſe the country of Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a city, was the moſt deſpiſed part of Paleſtine, deſpiſed by the Jews themſelves: and therefore Na-

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Hath been our dwelling many years; his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little ſuſpicious to any king; but now,
Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
By John the Baptiſt, and in publick ſhown,
Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
I look'd for ſome great change; to honour? no;
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and riſing he ſhould be
Of many in Iſraël, and to a ſign
Spoken againſt, that through my very ſoul
A ſword ſhall pierce: This is my favour'd lot,

thaniel aſketh Philip, *John* i. 46. "*Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?*" NEWTON.

This paſſage does not ſtrike me exactly in the ſame light as it does Dr. Newton. All this deſcription of the early private life of our Saviour ſeems rather deſigned to contraſt and to give more effect to the expectations of Mary, where ſhe ſays,

——————— "but now
"Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
"By John the Baptiſt, and in publick ſhown,
"Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
"I look'd for ſome great change." DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. ——————— *his life*
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little ſuſpicious to any king;] Very poſſibly not without an intended reference to Milton's own way of life after the Reſtoration. DUNSTER.

Ver. 88. *That to the fall and riſing he ſhould be*
Of many in Iſraël, &c.] See St. Luke, ii. 34, 35. DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. ——————— *This is my favour'd lot*, &c.] Theſe are the afflictions that Mary notices; not the circumſtances of

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My exaltation to afflictions high;
Afflicted I may be, it ſeems, and bleſt;
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? ſome great intent
Conceals him: When twelve years he ſcarce had ſeen,
I loſt him, but ſo found, as well I saw
He could not loſe himſelf, but went about
His Father's buſineſs; what he meant I mus'd,

dwelling in a diſreputable place, but her anxiety about her ſon, and what ſhe then ſuffered, and was ſtill to ſuffer, upon his account. DUNSTER.

Ver. 93. *Afflicted I may be, it ſeems, and bleſt;*
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? ſome great intent
Conceals him:] How charmingly does Milton here verify the character he had before given of the bleſſed Virgin in the lines above!

"Within her breaſt though calm, her breaſt though pure,
"Motherly cares and fears got head."

We ſee at one view the piety of the ſaint, and the tenderneſs of the mother; and I think nothing can be conceived more beautiful and moving than the ſudden ſtart of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now?* breaking in ſo abruptly upon the compoſed reſignation expreſſed in the two preceding ones. The ſame beauty is continued in her ſuddenly checking herſelf, and reſuming her calm and reſigned character again in theſe words ——*ſome great intent conceals him.* THYER.

Ver. 98. *He could not loſe himſelf,*] A conceit and jingle unworthy of our author. JOS. WARTON. — A conceit unworthy of Jos. Warton.

Ibid. ——————*but went about*
His Father's buſineſs;] "And he ſaid unto them, How is it that ye ſought me? Wiſt ye not that I muſt be *about my Father's buſineſs?*" Luke, ii. 49. DUNSTER.

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Since underſtand; much more his abſence now
Thus long to ſome great purpoſe he obſcures.
But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
My heart hath been a ſtore-houſe long of things
And ſayings laid up, portending ſtrange events.
Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had paſs'd
Since firſt her ſalutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:
The while her Son, tracing the deſart wild,
Sole, but with holieſt meditations fed,
Into himſelf deſcended, and at once
All his great work to come before him ſet;
How to begin, how to accompliſh beſt

Ver. 103. *My heart hath been a ſtore-houſe long of things*
And ſayings laid up, portending ſtrange events.] Alluding to what is ſaid of her, *Luke*, ii. 19. "*But Mary kept all theſe things, and pondered them in her heart:*" and ſee alſo ver. 51. So conſiſtent is the part that ſhe acts here with her character in Scripture. NEWTON.

Ver. 107. ——————— *with thoughts*
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:] This is beautifully expreſſed.—There is a paſſage ſomewhat ſimilar, in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. xii. 596, where Michael, having concluded what he had to ſhow Adam from the mountain, and what he had further to inform him of in narration there, ſays they muſt now deſcend from this "top of ſpeculation;" and, bidding Adam *go waken Eve*, adds

"Her alſo I with gentle dreams have calm'd
"Portending good, and *all her ſpirits compos'd*
"*To meek ſubmiſſion.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 111. *Into himſelf deſcended,*] Perſ. *Sat.* iv. 23.
"Ut nemo *in ſeſe* tentat *deſcendere!*" NEWTON.

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His end of being on earth, and miſſion high:
For Satan, with ſly preface to return,
Had left him vacant, and with ſpeed was gone
Up to the middle region of thick air,
Where all his potentates in council ſat;
There, without ſign of boaſt, or ſign of joy,
Solicitous and blank, he thus began.
Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones;
Demonian Spirits now, from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath!

Ver. 119. *There, without ſign of boaſt, or ſign of joy,*] In contraſt to the boaſting manner in which Satan had related his ſucceſs againſt Man, on his return to Pandæmonium, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. x. 460. DUNSTER.

Ver. 122. *Demonian Spirits now, from the element*
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath!] It was a notion among the Ancients, eſpecially among the Platoniſts, that there were Demons in each element, ſome viſible, others inviſible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, ſo that no part of the world was devoid of ſoul: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δαίμονες, ὡς καὶ καλοίη ἂν τὶς γενήτας θεὰς, κάθ' ἑκαστον τῶν στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν ὁρατοι, οἱ δὲ ἀόρατοι, ἐν τῷ ἀιθέρι, καὶ πυρὶ, ἀέρι τε, καὶ ὕδατι, ὧς μηδὲν κόσμῳ μέρος ψυχῆς ἄμοιρον εἶναι, as Alcinous in his ſummary of the Platonick doctrines ſays, cap. 5.—Michael Pſellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed ſome of his notions of Spirits, ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all ſorts of forms and bodies, ſo that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the ſea are full, and the inmoſt and deepeſt receſſes: πολλὰ δαιμόνων γένη, καὶ παντοδαπὰ τὰς ἰδίας καὶ τὰ σώματα· ὥς εἶναι πλήρη μὲν τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν τε ὑπερθεν ἡμων καὶ τὸν περὶ ἡμας· πλήρη δὲ γαῖαν καὶ θαλάτταν, καὶ τὰς μυχαιτάτας καὶ βύθιας [βύθιος] τόπους,

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(So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble,) such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell;
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequence was impower'd,
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him; but
find

p. 41; and he divides them into six kinds, the fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous, p. 45. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the Demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth. NEWTON.

See the notes on *Il Penf.* ver. 93, *Par. Loft*, B. i. 423, B. ii. 90, and B. vi. 344. TODD.

Ver. 130. ——— *in full frequence*] Milton, in his *History of England*, has said, "The assembly was *full and frequent*:" and in *Paradise Loft*, B. i. 797, the council of Devils was *frequent and full*. Here the adjective is formed into a substantive, as in B. i. 128; and Shakspeare uses it in the same manner, *Timon*, A. v. S. iii.

"Tell Athens, in the *frequence* of degree,
"From high to low throughout." NEWTON.

Ver. 131. ——— *tasted him;*] This is a Græcism. Γεύομαι signifies not only *gusto*, but likewise *experior, periculum facio*. DUNSTER.

Taste is common enough in English for *experience, make trial of*, &c. Thus, in Milton's *Tenure of Kings*, &c. "Those that have miserably *tasted* the event." And in *Samf. Agon.* ver. 1091. "The way to know were not to see but *taste*." In the old English translation of Boccacio's *Decameron*, a physician, visiting his patient, is introduced in these words: "He began to *taste* his pulse," fol. 1620, part 2d. p. 115. TODD.

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Far other labour to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of Men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
However to this Man inferiour far;
If he be Man by mother's side, at least

Ver. 135. *However to this Man inferiour far;*
If he be Man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, &c. &c.] I have ventured here to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first editions, and in Dr. Newton's, stands pointed thus:

"However to this Man inferiour far,
"If he be Man by Mother's side at least,
"With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c."

On this Mr. Calton observes: "The Tempter had no doubt of Christ's being *a Man by the mother's side;* but the want of a comma in its due place after *If he be Man*, hath puzzled both the sense and the construction. *He is* must be understood at the end of the verse, to support the syntax;

"If he be Man, by mother's side at least (*he is*)"

Dr. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole together, and understand it thus: "Satan had heard Jesus declared from Heaven, and knew him to be the Son of God; and now, after the trial he had made of him, he questions if he be Man *even* by the mother's side,"

"If he be Man by mother's side at least,"

He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this speech, not to say any thing to the evil spirits that may lessen, but every thing that may raise, their idea of his antagonist. It seems to me, that there can be no doubt respecting this passage. Dr. Newton certainly sees it in its true light: but I conceive his sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear and perfect, by the punctuation which I have adopted; and which I think most probably to have been intended by Milton.

DUNSTER.

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With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections abſolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greateſt deeds.
Therefore I am return'd, leſt confidence
Of my ſucceſs with Eve in Paradiſe
Deceive ye to perſuaſion over-ſure
Of like ſucceeding here: I ſummon all
Rather to be in readineſs, with hand
Or counſel to aſſiſt; leſt I, who erſt

Ver. 137. *With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,*
Perfections abſolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind *to greateſt deeds.*] Many lines of the *Paradiſe Regained* have been cenſured as harſh and inharmonious; but even of theſe the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in ſome inſtances by Mr. Thyer,) by ſhowing that they are very far from being of that kind *quas incuria fudit;* and that many of them are peculiarly expreſſive, and were purpoſely deſigned as ſuch by the poet.—The three lines above cited ſeem however ſecure from every poſſibility of diſapprobation. They are ſo eminently beautiful, that they muſt ſtrike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taſte.—Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the laſt line, and the dignity and ſignificancy of the expreſſion *amplitude of mind;* which he alſo ſuppoſes might have been ſuggeſted by the following paſſage in Tully's *Tuſc. Diſput.* ii. 25. "Hoc igitur tibi propone, *amplitudinem et quaſi quandam exaggerationem quam altiſſimam animi*, quæ maxime eminet contemnendis et deſpiciendis doloribus, unam eſſe omnium rem pulcherrimam."

DUNSTER.

Heywood, in his *Funerall Elegie upon K. James* l, 1625, uſes *amplitude* in Milton's ſenſe:

"He that the Romans with the Greeks compar'd,
"And punctually their *amplitudes* declar'd,
"Of ſuch as were in vertues antecelling." TODD.

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Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.
So ſpake the old Serpent, doubting; and from all
With clamour was aſſured their utmoſt aid
At his command: when from amidſt them roſe
Belial, the diſſoluteſt Spirit that fell,
The ſenſualleſt, and, after Aſmodai,
The fleſhlieſt Incubus; and thus advis'd.
Set women in his eye, and in his walk,

Ver. 150. *Belial, the diſſoluteſt Spirit that fell,*
The ſenſualleſt, and, after Aſmodai,
The fleſhlieſt Incubus;] I have heard theſe three lines objected to as harſh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true they do not run very ſmoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgement ſo contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphaſis, and to dwell for ſome time upon the word in each verſe, which moſt ſtrongly expreſſes the character deſcribed, viz. *diſſoluteſt, ſenſualleſt, fleſhlieſt.* This has a very good effect by impreſſing the idea more ſtrongly upon the mind, and contributes even in ſome meaſure to increaſe our averſion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of deteſtation to the very tone of voice with which theſe verſes muſt neceſſarily be read. THYER.

Ver. 151. ——————— *after Aſmodai,*
The fleſhlieſt Incubus;] The character of Belial in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, and the part he ſuſtains there, ſufficiently ſhow how properly he is introduced upon the preſent occaſion. He is here ſaid to be the *fleſhlieſt Incubus after Aſmodai*; or *Aſmadai*, as it is written, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. vi. 365; or *Aſmodeus*, B. iv. 168, the luſtful Angel who loved Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and deſtroyed her ſeven huſbands, as we read in the book of Tobit. NEWTON.

Ver. 153. *Set women in his eye*, &c.] As this temptation is not mentioned in the Goſpels, it could not with any propriety

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Among daughters of men the faireſt found:
Many are in each region paſſing fair
As the noon ſky; more like to Goddeſſes
Than mortal creatures; graceful and diſcreet;

have been propoſed to our Saviour; it is much more fitly made the ſubject of debate among the wicked Spirits themſelves. All that can be ſaid in praiſe of the power of beauty, and all that can be alleged to depreciate it, is here ſummed up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have ſeen in any other author. NEWTON.

This temptation is ſomething in the ſtyle of Taſſo, where Satan ſuggeſts to Hedroart ſending Armida to tempt and corrupt Godfrey, *Gier. Lib.* C. iv. DUNSTER.

Ver. 155. *Many are in each region* &c.] Milton, with all his philoſophical compoſure, appears to have been no ſtranger to the ſtrong perceptions of the paſſion of love. In his firſt Elegy he ſpeaks feelingly of the power of beauty, ver. 53.

" Ah! quoties dignæ ſtupui miracula formæ, &c."

In the ſeventh Elegy, written at the age of nineteen, he mentions the firſt time of his falling in love. He met an unknown fair on ſome publick walks, in or about London; was ſuddenly and violently captivated, but had no opportunity of declaring his affection and gaining her acquaintance. He in vain ardently wiſhes to ſee her again, and flatters his imagination that her heart is not made of adamant. Five of his Italian Sonnets, and his Canzone, are amatorial; and were perhaps inſpired by Leonora, [Baroni,] a young lady whom he had heard ſing at Rome, and whom he celebrates in three Latin Epigrams. But theſe were among the vanities of his youth. Yet at a much later and cooler period, when he wrote the preſent poem, we find him deeply impreſſed with at leaſt a remembrance of the various and irreſiſtible allurements of beauty. Theſe exquiſite lines, ver. 155 to ver. 169, were written by no Stoick. It is certain, that no poet has given more graceful and attractive images of beauty than Milton in his various portraits of Eve, each in a new aſpect and attitude. T. WARTON.

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Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
Perſuaſive, virgin majeſty with mild
And ſweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach;
Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to ſoften and tame

Ver. 159. ——— *virgin majeſty with mild*
And ſweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,] Poſſibly ſuggeſted by Claudian, Conſ. *Prob. et Ol.* 91.

" Miſcetur decori virtus, *pulchérque ſevero*
" *Armatur terrore pudor.*"

See alſo *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 489, &c. DUNSTER.

Perhaps Milton remembered the deſcription of beauty in *Solomon's Song*, Ch. vi. 4. " Thou art beautiful, O my Love, as Tirzah, comely as Jeruſalem, *terrible* as an army with banners." TODD.

Ver. 161. *Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw*
Hearts after them] In the ſame manner Milton, in his deſcription of Eve, *Paradiſe Loſt*. B. viii. 504.

" Not obvious, not obtruſive, but *retir'd*,
" *The more deſirable.*" THYER.

Ver. 162. ——— *tangled in amorous nets.*] Milton, in his firſt *Elegy*, ver. 60, ſpeaks of the " Aurea quæ *fallax retia tendit amor*," as Mr. Dunſter obſerves.

See alſo *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. xi. 585. And compare Spenſer, *Sonnet* xxxvii. I may add part of Greene's Roundelay, in his *Never too late*, 1616, p^t. i^st. bl. l.

——— " to gaze upon the gorgeous ſight,
" That *Beautie*, pompous in her higheſt prime,
" Preſents to *tangle* men with ſweete delight."

But Milton's phraſe, the *amorous net*, is literally from Arioſto. See the note on *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 582. And here alſo the Italian poetry was in Milton's mind: Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. ſt. 87.

" Vſa ogn' arte la Donna, onde ſia *colto*
" *Ne la ſue rete* alcun nouello amante." TODD.

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Severeſt temper, ſmooth the rugged'ſt brow,
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope diſſolve,
Draw out with credulous deſire, and lead
At will the manlieſt, reſoluteſt breaſt,
As the magnetick hardeſt iron draws.

Ver. 164. ——— ſmooth *the* rugged'ſt brow,] Thus in the *Penſeroſo*, 58.

" *Smoothing the rugged brow* of Night." DUNSTER.

Milton adopted theſe expreſſions from Spenſer's Sonnet to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, prefixed to the *Faerie Queene:*

" So you, great Lord, that with your counſell ſway
" The burdein of this kingdom mightily,
" With like delightes ſometimes may eke *delay*
" The *rugged brow* of carefull Policy:"

Where *delay* means *ſmooth*, as elſewhere in Spenſer. Compare alſo Randolph, *Poems*, edit. 1640, p. 50.

——— " *ſmoothing the brow*,
" And making that look amorous, which but now
" Stood *wrinkled with his anger*." TODD.

Ver. 166. *Draw out with credulous deſire*,] This beautiful expreſſion was formed partly upon Horace's, *Od.* IV. i. 30.

——— " ſpes *animi credula mutui*."

And partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a paſſage in the *Andria* of Terence, A. iv. S. i.

——— " non tibi ſatis eſſe hoc viſum ſolidum eſt gaudium,
" Niſi me lactaſſes amantem, et falsâ ſpe *produceres* ?"
NEWTON.

Credulous might have been ſuggeſted by an Ode of Horace, which Milton himſelf has tranſlated.

" Qui nunc te fruitur *credulus* aureâ,
" Qui ſemper vacuam, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 168. *As the* magnetick &c.] It ſhould be the *magnet*, or *magnetick ſtone*. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uſes it as the ſubſtantive. NEWTON.

Lucian hath this ſimile in his *Imagines*, vol. ii. p. 2. Ed. Græv.

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Women, when nothing elſe, beguil'd the heart
Of wiſeſt Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow, to the Gods of his wives.

" But if the fair one once look upon you, what is it that can get you from her? She will draw you after her at pleaſure, bound hand and foot, *juſt as the loadſtone draws iron.*" We may obſerve that Milton, by reſtraining the compariſon to the power of beauty over the wiſeſt men and the moſt ſtoical tempers, hath given it a propriety which is loſt in a more general application.

CALTON.

Claudian, having very poetically deſcribed the powers of the magnet, concludes his *Idyllium* in a manner that poſſibly might have ſuggeſted to Milton ſome of the preceding lines.

——— " Quæ duras jungit concordia mentes!
" Flagrat anhela ſilex, et amicam faucia ſentit
" Materiem, placidóſque Chalybs cognoſcit amores.
" Sic *Venus horrificum belli compeſcere regem,*
" *Et vultu mollire ſolet*, cum ſanguine præceps
" Æſtuat, et ſtrictis mucronibus aſperat iras.
" Sola feris occurrit equis, *ſolvítque tumorem*
" *Pectoris, et blando præcordia temperat igni.*
" Pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnáſque calentes
" Deſerit, et rutilas declinat in oſcula criſtas.
" Quæ tibi, ſæve puer, non eſt permiſſa poteſtas?
" Tu magnum ſuperas fulmen, &c." DUNSTER.

I may refer to the poetry of our own country alſo. See *The Teares of Love*, by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 29. A lady is the ſpeaker:

" For *as the adamant doth diamonds drawe,*
" Or little jeat extracts the longeſt ſtrawe:
" Euen ſo *my beauty binds him to obey,*
" To ſeek, to ſue, and ſerue me euery way."

The ſame ſimile is well applied by Browne, *Brit. Paſt.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

" The *adamant* and *beauty* we diſcour
" To be alike; for beauty *draws a louer,*
" The *adamant* his *iron.*" TODD.

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To whom quick anſwer Satan thus return'd.
Belial, in much uneven ſcale thou weigh'ſt
All others by thyſelf; becauſe of old
Thou thyſelf doat'dſt on womankind, admiring
Their ſhape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'ſt, but taken with ſuch toys.
Before the Flood thou with thy luſty crew,
Falſe titled ſons of God, roaming the earth
Caſt wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not ſeen, or by relation heard,

Ver. 178. *Before the Flood thou with thy luſty crew,*
Falſe titled ſons of God, &c.] It is to be lamented that our author has ſo often adopted the vulgar notion of the Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that miſtaken text of Scripture, *Gen.* vi. 2. "*The ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they choſe.*" See *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 463, 447. But though he ſeems to favour that opinion, as we may ſuppoſe, to embelliſh his poetry, yet he ſhows elſewhere that he underſtood the text rightly, of the ſons of Seth, who were the worſhippers of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked Cain, *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 621, 625. NEWTON.

Ver. 180. *Caſt wanton eyes* &c.] Compare Hakewill's *Apology of the Power* and *Providence of God*, edit. 1630, p. 365. "Then ſhall you haue them *caſt* their *wanton eyes* vpon mens wiues, &c." And ſee the note on ver. 353. TODD.

Ver. 182. *Have we not ſeen, or by relation heard,*] This paſſage is cenſured by Dr. Warburton, as ſuiting only the Poet ſpeaking in his own perſon; but ſurely there is no impropriety in the Arch-Fiend's being well acquainted with the fables of the Heathen Mythology, and the amours and adventures of their Gods, or, (according to Milton's ſyſtem,) his own infernal Compeers.—If we cenſure this paſſage, we muſt ſtill more deciſively condemn one in the fourth Book; where, in anſwer to Satan's

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In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'ſt,
In wood or grove, by moſſy fountain ſide,
In valley or green meadow, to way-lay
Some beauty rare, Caliſto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

ſpeech, deſcribing, while he ſhows it, the ſplendour of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking up the ſubject, carries on the deſcription to the luxurious way of living among the Romans of that time, with this verſe in a parentheſis,

" For I have alſo *heard*, perhaps *have read*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 184. *In wood or* grove, *by moſſy* fountain *ſide*,
In valley or green *meadow*,] Thus, in Shakſpeare's *Midſummer Night's Dream*, Puck, ſpeaking of Oberon and Titania, ſays

" And now they never meet *in grove, or green*,
" *By fountain clear*, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 185. ——————— *to way-lay*
Some beauty rare, &c.] So, in the beautiful Canzone of Lorenzo de' Medici, entitled *Trionfo di Bacco e Arianno:*

" Queſtri ſcaltri Satiretti
" Delle Ninfe innamorati
" Per caverne, e per boſchetti,
" Han lor poſto cento aguati." TODD.

Ver. 186. ——————— *Caliſto, Clymene,*
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx,] All theſe miſtreſſes of the Gods might have been furniſhed from Ovid, our Author's favourite Latin Poet. DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ——————— *many more*
Too long,] A conciſe way of ſpeaking for *many more too long to mention*. The author had uſed it before. *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 473. Indeed more would have been *too long*, and it would have been better if he had not enumerated ſo many of the loves of the Gods. Theſe things are known to every ſchool-

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Too long; then lay'ſt thy ſcapes on names ador'd,

boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem: and in my opinion are not the moſt pleaſing ſubjects in painting any more than in poetry. NEWTON.

Poetry, as ſtrictly diſcriminated from Proſe, may be defined *elevated and ornamented language*. Among the moſt allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and alluſions and claſſical imitations hold a principal place. A poet precluded from theſe would be miſerably circumſcribed, and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the hiſtorick facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that ſpecies of language which aſks no ornaments but purity and perſpicuity. A *divine* poem certainly requires to be written in the chaſteſt ſtyle, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of falſe ornament: but it muſt ſtill be conſidered that the great reaſon of exhibiting any ſerious truths, and eſpecially the more intereſting facts of religious hiſtory, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to pleaſe, muſt continue to be pleaſing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and alluſions, the Poet ſhews the perfection of his taſte and judgement, as much as in any other circumſtance whatever: and Milton has eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this reſpect. How beautifully has he ſprinkled his *Paradiſe Loſt* with the flowers of Claſſick Poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology! And he has done this with ſo judicious a hand, with a ſpirit ſo reverent, that the moſt religiouſly delicate ear can not but be captivated with it.—I confeſs my ſurpriſe that Dr. Newton does not ſee the paſſage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the higheſt degree juſtifiable, but abſolutely as one of thoſe *loci laudandi* which the beſt criticks ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himſelf of the fabulous amours of the Heathen Deities. He transfers them to the fallen Angels, to Belial and "his luſty crew;" and, by the judicious application of theſe diſgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before poſſeſſed. He furniſhes even "the ſchool-boy" with a moral to the fable which he has been reading, and recalls to maturer minds the

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Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, . . 190
Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
Delight not all; among the sons of men,

classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which at once relieve and adorn his divine Poem. DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. ——————— *thy* scapes] This is a Gallicism *Echappèe*, a *prank* or *frolick*. DUNSTER.

Scapes here mean *vicious frolicks*, or *acts of lewdness*; and the word is common in our own old poetry. Thus in *Tancred and Gismund*, 1592, A. iii. S. ii.

——————— " the subtile *scapes* of men
" Hardned in shame, fear'd vp in the desire
" Of their owne *lustes*."

Again in *The Teares of Love* by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 13. Cupid is the speaker:

" Yea, I made Ioue to lay aside his shape,
" And (amongst mortalls) commit many a *scape*."

But more particularly in Marston's *Satyres*, 12mo. 1598, Sat. 5, where the satirist is ridiculing the exploits of the *heathen deities*, and, after recording the " lewd acts" of Hercules, adds

" Thus little *scapes* are deepely punished,
" But mighty villanes are for gods adored." TODD.

Ver. 190. *Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,*] *Calisto, Semele*, and *Antiopa*, were mistresses to Jupiter; *Clymene* and *Daphne* to *Apollo*; and *Syrinx* to *Pan*. Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the Gods of the Heathens as Demons or Devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms; Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια. *Psalm* xcvi. 5. (and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, *Quoniam omnes Dii gentium dæmonia*). And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of the Heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. p. 10. and 33. edit. Thirlbii. NEWTON.

Ver. 191. ——————— *But these haunts*
Delight not all;] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 2. " *Non omnes* arbusta *juvant*." DUNSTER.

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How many have with a ſmile made ſmall account
Of Beauty and her lures, eaſily ſcorn'd
All her aſſaults, on worthier things intent!
Remember that Pellean conquerour,
A youth, how all the beauties of the Eaſt
He ſlightly view'd, and ſlightly overpaſs'd;
How he, ſurnam'd of Africa, diſmiſs'd,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.

Ver. 196. *Remember that* Pellean *conquerour*, &c.] Alexander the Great was born at *Pella* in Macedonia: his continence and clemency to Darius's queen, and daughters, and the other Perſian ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Iſſus, are commended by the hiſtorians. "Tum quidem ita ſe geſſit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam ſancte habuit, quam ſi eodem quo ipſe parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejuſdem, quam nulla ætatis ſuæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipſe non violavit, ut ſummam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet, &c." *Quint. Curt.* lib. iii. cap. 9. He was then a young conquerour, of about twenty-three years of age, *a youth*, as Milton expreſſes it. NEWTON.

See Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 168.

"Unus *Pellæo juveni* non ſufficit orbis." DUNSTER.

And Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, part the third, edit. 1642, p. 32.

"Where's Nimrod now, and dreadful Hannibal?
"Where's that ambitious pert *Pellean lad*?" TODD.

Ver. 197. ——— *how all the beauties of the Eaſt*
He ſlightly view'd, and ſlightly overpaſs'd;] Alexander, we know from hiſtory, did *not* "ſlightly overpaſs all the beauties of the Eaſt." DUNSTER.

Ver. 199. *How he, ſurnam'd of Africa, diſmiſs'd,*
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.] The

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For Solomon, he liv'd at eaſe, and full
Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
Higher deſign than to enjoy his ſtate;
Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:
But he, whom we attempt, is wiſer far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and ſet wholly on the accompliſhment
Of greateſt things. What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leiſure will vouchſafe an eye
Of fond deſire? Or ſhould ſhe, confident,

continence of Scipio Africanus at the age of twenty-four, and his generoſity in reſtoring a beautiful Spaniſh lady to her huſband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and various other authors. NEWTON.

Ver. 204. *Thence to the bait of women* &c.] This remark, applied by Satan to Solomon, the example cited by Belial, induces me to notice the deſcription of Belial by Wierus, *Pſeudomonarchia Dæmonum*, edit. Baſil. 1582, p. 919. "Sunt quidam necromantici, qui afferunt ipſum Salomonem, quodam die *aſtutia cuiuſdam mulieris ſeductum*, orando ſe inclinaſſe verſus ſimulachrum *Belial* nomine, &c." Wierus doubts this *particular* circumſtance. But ſee 1 *Kings*, xi. 1—8. And *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 401, and the preſent book, ver. 169. TODD.

Ver. 210. *On whom his leiſure will vouchſafe an* eye
Of fond deſire?] This *eye of fond deſire* is very beautifully expreſſed by Æſchylus, whom our author perhaps had in view. *Suppl.* ver. 1011.

Καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἔπι
Πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὄμματος θελκτήριον
Τόξευμ' ἵεμψιν, ἱμέρῳ νικώμενος. THYER.

Æſchylus has alſo the immediate expreſſion, the *eye* of *deſire*, in *Prometh.* ver. 655.

Ὡς αν διον ΟΜΜΑ λωφήσῃ ΠΟΘΟΥ. DUNSTER.

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As ſitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,
Deſcend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour, as the zone of Venus once
Wrought that effect on Jove, ſo fables tell; 215
How would one look from his majeſtick brow,
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,

Ver. 211. ——— *Or ſhould ſhe, confident,*
As ſitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,
Deſcend with all her winning charms begirt &c.] This is clearly from the ſame *pallette* and *pencil* as the following highly coloured paſſage, *Par. Loſt*, B. viii. 59.

" With goddeſs-like demeanour forth ſhe went,
" Not unattended, for *on her as Queen*
" *A pomp of winning Graces waited ſtill,*
" And from about her ſhot darts of deſire
" Into all eyes to wiſh her ſtill in ſight." DUNSTER.

Ver. 213. ——— *with all her winning charms* begirt] *Begirt* leads us to notice the ſimilar expreſſion in a line, to which the paſſage before us preſents a beautiful contraſt. See *Par. Reg.* B. i. 120. " *Girded* with ſnaky wiles." TODD.

Ver. 215. ——— *ſo fables tell;*] Theſe words look as if the Poet had forgot himſelf, and ſpoke in his own perſon rather than in the character of Satan. NEWTON.

Ver. 216. ——— *one look from his majeſtick brow,*
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,] Here is the conſtruction that we often meet with in Milton: from his majeſtick brow, that is, from the majeſtick brow *of him* ſeated as on the top of Virtue's hill: and the expreſſion of *Virtue's hill* was probably in alluſion to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the Table of Cebes, or the arduous aſcent up the hill to which Virtue is repreſented pointing in the beſt deſigns of *the judgement of Hercules.* NEWTON.

Milton's meaning here is beſt illuſtrated by a paſſage in Shakſpeare; which moſt probably he had in his mind. Hamlet, in the ſcene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, ſays,

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Diſcountenance her deſpis'd, and put to rout
All her array; her female pride dejected,
Or turn to reverent awe! for Beauty ſtands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive; ceaſe to admire, and all her plumes

" See what a *grace* was *ſeated on that brow!*
" Hyperion's curls, the *front* of Jove himſelf;
" An eye, like Mars to threaten or command, &c."

See alſo *Love's Labour Loſt*, A. iii. S. iv. " Greatneſs, nobleneſs, authority, and awe," ſays Bentley, " are by all Greek " and Latin poets placed in the *forehead*." See *Par. Loſt*, B. vii, 509, ix. 538.

And Spenſer's Belphœbe,

" Her ivory *forehead full of bounty brave*
" Like a broad table did itſelf diſpread,
" All *good and honour* might therein be read,
" And there *their dwelling* was." DUNSTER.

Perhaps we may here rather cite the coincident expreſſion of G. Wither, in his *Fidelia*, 1622.

" And *Vertue* (whereſoeuer ſhe be now)
" Seem'd then to *ſit enthron'd vpon thy brow*."

See alſo Browne's *Brit. Paſt.* B. i. S. iv.

" *Upon her forehead*, as in glory, *ſate*
" Mercy and *Majeſty*." TODD.

Ver. 220. ——————*for Beauty ſtands*
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive;] Among Milton's early Latin Elegies we find one (the ſeventh) of the amatory kind. But when he publiſhed his Latin Poems, eighteen years afterwards, he thought it neceſſary to add to it ten lines apologiſing for the puerile weakneſs, or rather vacancy, of his mind, that could admit ſuch an impreſſion. DUNSTER.

Ver. 222. ——————*ceaſe to admire, and all her plumes*
Fall flat, and ſhrink into a trivial toy,
At every ſudden ſlighting quite abaſh'd.] This is a very beautiful and appoſite alluſion to the peacock; ſpeaking

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Fall flat, and ſhrink into a trivial toy,
At every ſudden ſlighting quite abaſh'd.
Therefore with manlier objects we muſt try
His conſtancy; with ſuch as have more ſhow
Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praiſe,
Rocks, whereon greateſt men have oftеſt wreck'd;
Or that which only ſeems to ſatisfy
Lawful deſires of nature, not beyond;
And now I know he hungers, where no food
Is to be found, in the wide wilderneſs:
The reſt commit to me; I ſhall let paſs
No advantage, and his ſtrength as oft aſſay.
He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclaim;

of which bird, Pliny notices the circumſtance of its ſpreading its tail under a ſenſe of admiration; "Gemmantes *laudatus* expandit colores, adverſo maxime ſole, quia ſic fulgentius radiant." *Nat. Hiſt.* L. x. C. 20. Taſſo compares Armida, in all the pride and vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock with its tail ſpread, c. xvi. ſt. 24. But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, *De Arte Am.* i. 627.

"*Laudatas* oſtentat avis Junonia pennas;
"*Si tacitus ſpectes, illa recondit opes.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 228. ——— *have* oftеſt *wreck'd*;] We read according to Milton's own edition *ofteſt*, which is better than *often* in the others. NEWTON.

Ver 232. ——— *the* wide *wilderneſs*:] In moſt of the editions, as doctor Newton obſerves, it is falſely printed "the *wild* wilderneſs." I muſt obſerve however, that what is written in Milton's manuſcript of *Comus*, v. 403, "this *wide* ſurrounding waſte," is, in the printed copies, "this *wild* ſurrounding waſte." But the expreſſion "*wide* wilderneſs" is alſo in *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 224. Compare alſo Spenſer, *Aſtrophel*, ver. 93. "Into a *forеſt* WIDE and *waſte* he came." TODD.

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Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,
To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part:
Then to the desart takes with these his flight;
Where, still from shade to shade, the Son of God
After forty days fasting had remain'd,
Now hungering first, and to himself thus said.
Where will this end? four times ten days
I've pass'd

Ver. 236. ——— *to him takes a chosen band*
Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,] "Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits *more wicked than himself.*" Matt. xii. 45. DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. *Now hungering first,*] There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account, that our Saviour *hungered* before the Devil first tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now first hungered*, especially considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and consulting with his companions? THYER.

Milton comprises the principal action of the Poem in four successive days. This is the second day; in which no positive temptation occurs, for Satan *had left* Jesus (as was said, ver. 116. of this Book) *vacant*, i. e. unassailed that day. Previous to the Tempter's appearing at all, it is said (B. i. 303.) that our blessed Lord had "passed full forty days" in the wilderness. All that is here meant is that he was not hungry till the forty days were ended; and accordingly our Saviour himself presently says that, during that time, he

———"human food
"Nor tasted, nor had appetite."

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Wandering this woody maze, and human food
Nor taſted, nor had appetite; that faſt
To virtue I impute not, or count part
Of what I ſuffer here; if nature need not,
Or God ſupport nature without repaſt
Though needing, what praiſe is it to endure?
But now I feel I hunger, which declares
Nature hath need of what ſhe aſks; yet God
Can ſatisfy that need ſome other way,

As to the *time neceſſary* for convening the infernal council, there is the ſpace of twenty-four hours taken for the Devil to go up to *the region of mid air*, where his council was ſitting, and where we are told he went *with ſpeed* (ver. 117 of this Book), and for him to debate the matter with his council, and return *with his choſen band of Spirits:* for it was the commencement of night, when he left our Saviour at the end of the firſt Book, and it is now "the hour of night," (ver. 260) when he is returned. But it muſt alſo be conſidered that ſpiritual beings are not ſuppoſed to require, for their *actions*, the *time* neceſſary to human ones; otherwiſe we might proceed to calculate the time requiſite for the deſcent of Michael, or Raphael, to Paradiſe, and criticiſe the *Paradiſe Loſt* accordingly. But Raphael, in the eighth Book of that Poem, ſays to Adam, inquiring concerning celeſtial motions,

"The ſwiftneſs of thoſe circles attribute,
"Though numberleſs, to his Omnipotence,
"That to corporeal ſubſtances could add
"*Speed almoſt ſpiritual;* me thou think'ſt not ſlow,
"Who ſince the morning hour ſet out from Heaven
"Where God reſides, and ere mid day arriv'd
"In Eden, diſtance inexpreſſible
"By numbers that have name."

We are alſo expreſsly told by St. Luke, when the Devil took our Lord up into a high mountain, that "he ſhowed unto him all the kingdoms of the world *in a moment of time*," Luke, iv. 5.

DUNSTER.

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Though hunger ſtill remain: ſo it remain
Without this body's waſting, I content me,
And from the ſting of famine fear no harm;
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hungering more to do my Father's will.
It was the hour of night, when thus the Son
Commun'd in ſilent walk, then laid him down
Under the hoſpitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven; there he ſlept,
And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreſhment ſweet:

Ver. 258. ——— *fed with better thoughts.*] See my note on *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 37. TODD.

Ver. 259. *Me* hungering *more to do my Father's will.*] In alluſion to our Saviour's words, *John*, iv. 34. "*My meat is to do the will of him that ſent me*, and to finiſh his work."
NEWTON.

But with a reference alſo to, "Bleſſed are they which do *hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs*," Matt. v. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. Commun'd *in ſilent walk, then laid him down*] Agreeable to what we find in the *Pſalms*, iv. 4. "*Commune* with your own heart upon your bed, and be ſtill." NEWTON.

Ver. 262. ——— *the* hoſpitable covert *nigh*
Of trees thick interwoven;] Thus Horace, *Od.* II. iii. 9.

"Qua pinus ingens albáque populus
"*Umbram hoſpitalem conſociare amant*
"*Ramis.*"

And Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 24;

"Obviáque *hoſpitiis* teneat *frondentibus* arbos."

Milton alſo, in *Comus*, ver. 186;

———"ſuch cooling fruit
"As the kind *hoſpitable* woods provide." DUNSTER.

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Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith ſtood,
And ſaw the ravens with their horny beaks ‡
Food to Elijah bringing, even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abſtain from what they brought:
He ſaw the Prophet alſo, how he fled
Into the deſart, and how there he ſlept
Under a juniper; then how awak'd
He found his ſupper on the coals prepar'd,
And by the Angel was bid riſe and eat,
And eat the ſecond time after repoſe,
The ſtrength whereof ſuffic'd him forty days:

‡ Thone ſwcartan hramas Hyrnid nebban } Ode on the victory of Athelstan. Milton might have seen this passage in Wheloc's edit. 1644.

* But Dr Newton was mistaken.

Ver. 266. *Him thought,*] We ſay now, and more juſtly, as doctor Newton has obſerved, *he thought*; but *him thought* is of the ſame conſtruction as *me thought*, and is uſed by our old writers, as by Fairfax, c. 13. ſt. 40. "*Him thought* he heard the ſoftly whiſtling wind." See alſo Spenſer, *Fuer. Qu.* iv. viii. 4, where ſome editions have arbitrarily changed "*Him* ſeemed" into "*He* ſeemed." The phraſeology is very ancient. See the *Liber Feſtivalis*, printed by Caxton, ſign. k. ij. "And whan he [St. George] ſawe the araye of that damyſel, *Him thought* that it ſhold be a woman of grete worth." TODD.

Him cannot be the nominative. Thought is here impersonal, & him the objective case.

Ibid. ——— *he by the brook of Cherith ſtood*, &c.] Alluding to the account of Elijah, 1 *Kings*, xvii. 5, 6. and xix. 4. And Daniel's living upon *pulſe and water*, rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink, is celebrated, *Dan.* i. So that, as our dreams are often compoſed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety ſuppoſed to dream of ſacred perſons and ſubjects. *Lucretius*, iv. 960.

"Et quoi quiſque ferè ſtudio devinctus adhæret,
"Aut quibus in rebus multum ſumus ante morati,
"Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
"In ſomnis eadem plerúmque videmur obire."

NEWTON.

* From this remark it appears that neither Mr. Todd nor Dr Newton understood the English Impersonals, nor this sense of the word thought, which answers in this case to the German Dunken, videri, & not to Denken, cogitare.
"Him thought"—"it appeared to him". See my Note on English Impersonals in my Ed. of Tooke, Ett. Mtg. — 1840.

Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a gueſt with Daniel at his pulſe.
Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-neſt, high towering to deſcry

Ver. 278. *Or as a gueſt*] Might we not read, "Or *was* a gueſt." SYMPSON.

Ver. 279. ——— *the* herald *lark*] The lark is called by Shakſpeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, A. iii. S. v.

——— "the *herald* of the morn." NEWTON.

And by Browne, as Mr. Dunſter alſo obſerves, in his *Brit. Paſtorals*, 1616, B. i. S. iii. "The mounting lark, day's *herald*, got on wing." TODD.

Ver. 280. ——— *to deſcry*
The Morn's approach, and greet her with his ſong:] This is a beautiful thought which modern wit hath added to the ſtock of antiquity. We may ſee it riſing, though out of a low hint of Theocritus, like the bird from his *thatch'd pallat*. Idyll. x. 50.

Ἀρχισθαι δ' ἀμῶνιας ἐγειρομένην κορυδαλλῖδ.

Chaucer leads the way to the Engliſh poets, in four of the fineſt lines in all his works, *Knight's Tale*, 1493.

"The merry lark, meſſengere of the day,
"*Salewith in her ſong the morrow gray*,
"And firy Phebus riſith up ſo bright
"That all the Orient laugheth at the ſight."

In the ſame manner Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, i. xi. 51.

——— "when Una did her mark
"Climb to her charet all with flowers ſpread,
"From Heaven high to chaſe the cheerleſs dark:
"*With merry notes her loud ſalutes the mounting lark.*"
CALTON.

Thus, in *Comus*, the early hour of morning is marked by *the lark's rouſing from its thatch'd pallat*, ver. 315. And the lark "high-towering and greeting the morn with her ſong," is thus beautifully deſcribed in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, c. ix. ſt. 2.

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The Morn's approach, and greet her with his
song:
As lightly from his graſſy couch up roſe
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream;
Faſting he went to ſleep, and faſting wak'd.
Up to a hill anon his ſteps he rear'd,
From whoſe high top to ken the proſpect round,
If cottage were in view, ſheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or ſheep-cote, none he ſaw;

" The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
" *With ſweet ſalutes awakes the drowſy light;*
" *The earth ſhe left, and up to heaven is fled;*
" There chants her Maker's praiſes out of ſight."

See alſo Spenſer's *Aſtrophel*, ſt. vi.

" As ſummers lark that *with her ſong doth greete*
" The dawning day, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 282. ——— *from his* graſſy couch] So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 600.

———" for beaſt and bird,
" They to *their graſſy couch*, theſe to their neſts,
" Were ſlunk." THYER.

Milton might perhaps remember Lucretius's expreſſion, " *Herba cubile* præbat," lib. v. TODD.

Ver. 283. ——— *and found all was but a dream;*] *Par. Loſt*, B. v. 92.

———" but, O! how glad I wak'd
" *To find this but a dream!*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 287. *If cottage were in view, ſheep-cote, or herd;*
But cottage, herd, or ſheep-cote, none he ſaw;]
This mode of repetition our poet is fond of, and has frequently uſed with ſingular effect. See *Comus*, v. 221, &c. Thus alſo, in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iv. 640, a delightful deſcription of morning, evening, and night, is beautifully recapitulated. DUNSTER.

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Only in a bottom ſaw a pleaſant grove,
With chant of tuneful birds reſounding loud: 290

Ver. 289. *Only in a bottom ſaw a pleaſant grove*, &c.] The Tempter here is the *Magician* of the Italian poets. This "pleaſant grove" is a *magical* creation in the deſart, deſigned as a *ſcene* ſuited for the enſuing temptation of the Banquet. Thus Taſſo lays the ſcene of the ſumptuous banquet, which Armida provides for her lovers, amidſt

"High trees, ſweet meadows, waters pure and good—
"Under the curtain of the greenwood ſhade,
"Beſide the brook, upon the velvet graſs."
Fairfax's *Taſſo*, c. x. 63, 64.

The whole of Milton's deſcription here is very beautiful; and I rather wonder that the noble author of the *Anecdotes of Painting* did not ſubjoin it to his citations, from the *Paradiſe Loſt*, in his *Obſervations on modern Gardening*. He there aſcribes to our author the having foreſeen, "with the prophetick eye of taſte," our modern ſtyle of gardening. It may however be queſtioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the *Comus*, ſpeaking of the gardens of the Heſperides, he deſcribes *cedarn alleys*, and *criſped ſhades and bowers*; and in his *Penſeroſo*, "retired leiſure" is made to pleaſe itſelf in *trim gardens*. Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter paſſage, obſerves that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his Paradiſe Loſt. But the *Paradiſe* which he there deſcribes is not a *Garden*, either ancient or modern. It is in fact a *Country* in its natural, unornamented ſtate, only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more eſſential to happineſs in a hot climate,) at all times perfectly habitable from its abundance of pleaſingly-diſpoſed ſhade and water, and its conſequent verdure and fertility. From all ſuch poetical delineations, as from Nature herſelf, the *Landſcape Gardener* may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taſte. The poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of *Art*, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquiſite deſcriptions of the more beautiful ſcenes of *Nature*, which it is the office of *Art* to imitate and to repreſent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independant of the beauty of its ſcenery, is its

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Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
To reſt at noon; and enter'd ſoon the ſhade
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,

being peculiarly adapted to the circumſtances of our climate. A modern Engliſh pleaſure-ground would not be conſidered as a Paradiſe on the ſultry plains of Aſſyria, if it could be formed, or exiſt there: accordingly another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of abſurdity to adopt it in our own iſland, may be well defended in its proper place by the beſt of all pleas, neceſſity. The reader may ſee this queſtion fully diſcuſſed, with great taſte and judgement, by my learned friend Dr. Falconer, in his *Hiſtorical View of the Taſte for Gardening and laying out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 291. ——————— *determin'd there*
To reſt at noon,] The cuſtom of retiring to the ſhade and repoſing, in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the middle part of the day, is frequently alluded to by Milton in his *Paradiſe Loſt.* See B. iv. 627, B. v. 230, and 300, and B. ix. 401. DUNSTER.

Ver. 293. High roof'd, *and walks beneath, and* alleys brown,] Such are alſo the arched over-ſhading groves of Spenſer, with their walks, alleys, and arbours, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 7.

" A ſhady grove not far away they ſpied, &c.
" *And all within were paths and allies wide.*"

See alſo *Faer. Qu.* iv. x. 25. *High-roof'd* reminds us of ſome of Milton's deſcriptions in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, as in B. ix. 1037.

——————" a ſhady bank
" Thick overhead *with verdant roof imbower'd.*"

See alſo B. iv. 692, 772, B. v. 137. The deep ſhade, produced by great maſſes of wood, is a favourite object of our poet's deſcription. The epithet *brown* that he applies to it, (as here " allies *brown,*") he borrowed from the Italian poets; as has been juſtly obſerved by Mr. Thyer. See his notes on *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iv. 246, and B. ix. 1086. DUNSTER.

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That open'd in the midſt a woody ſcene; 294
Nature's own work it ſeem'd, Nature-taught Art,
And, to a ſuperſtitious eye, the haunt

Ver. 294. *That open'd in the midſt a woody ſcene;*
Nature's own work it ſeem'd,] Here is ſome reſemblance of Homer's deſcription of the Bower of Calypſo, *Odyſſ.* v. 63, 73.

Ὕλη δὲ σπεος ἀμφιπεφύκει τηλιθόωσα,
Κλήθρη τ' αἴγειρός τε, καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος.
——ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν
Θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν, καὶ τερπθείη φρεσὶν ἧσιν.

It may be obſerved, that "a various ſylvan ſcene" was poſſibly ſuggeſted by Milton's "happy *rural ſeat of various view,*" Par. Loſt, B. iv. 246. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. *Nature's own work it ſeem'd, Nature-taught Art,*] Thus Spenſer in his deſcription of the Gardens of Acraſia, *Faer. Qu.* ii. xii. 58.

"And, that which all fair workes doth moſt aggrace,
"The Art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

59.

"One would have thought, (ſo cunningly the rude
"And ſcorned parts were mingled with the fine,)
"That Nature had for wantonneſs enſude
"Art, and that Art at Nature did repine;
"So ſtriving each the other to undermine,
"Each did the other's work more beautify; &c."

But here he is not a little indebted to his predeceſſor Taſſo, in his deſcription of the Garden of Armida, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvi. ſt. 9, 10. See alſo *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 29. DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. —————— *the* haunt
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs:] Milton terms "the happy walks and ſhades" of Paradiſe "fit *haunt* of Gods," *Par. L.* B. xi. 271. See alſo *Par. L.* B. iii. 27, iv. 708. And compare Spenſer, *Shep. Cal.* July, ver. 77.

"Here han the holy Faunes recourſe,
"And Sylvanes *haunten* rathe."

Milton alludes to this paſſage alſo, ver. 191. TODD.

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Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs: he view'd
it round.
When ſuddenly a man before him ſtood;
Not ruſtick as before, but ſeemlier clad,
As one in city, or court, or palace bred,
And with fair ſpeech theſe words to him addreſs'd.
With granted leave officious I return,

Ver. 299. *Not ruſtick as before, but ſeemlier clad,*] The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the ſtones into bread to ſatisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man *in rural weeds*; but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is *ſeemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier: and here *with fair ſpeech* he addreſſes his words, there it was only *with words thus utter'd ſpake.* Theſe leſſer particulars have a propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's obſervation. NEWTON.

Ver. 302. *With granted leave*] It is true that Satan at parting, in the concluſion of the former book, had aſked leave to come again, but all the anſwer that our Saviour returned was

" Thy coming hither, though I know thy ſcope,
" I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'ſt
" Permiſſion from above."

But, as the Tempter muſt needs have been a moſt impudent being, it was perfectly in character to repreſent him as taking *permiſſion* for *granted leave.* NEWTON.

The *granted leave* here, is " permiſſion from above." In anſwer to Satan's requeſt, (B. i. 492.)

——" diſdain not ſuch acceſs to me,"

our Saviour had ſaid,

——" do as thou find'ſt
" Permiſſion from above."

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But much more wonder that the Son of God
In this wild ſolitude ſo long ſhould bide,
Of all things deſtitute; and, well I know,
Not without hunger. Others of ſome note,
As ſtory tells, have trod this wilderneſs;
The fugitive bond-woman, with her ſon

Satan therefore here introduces himſelf with a boaſt of *that permiſſion* from HIM, who had before given up Job to be tempted by him, B. i. 368. Indeed our author makes the Deity, in his ſpeech to Gabriel, ſay, ſpeaking of our bleſſed Lord, B. i. 140.

——" this Man, born and now up-grown,
" To ſhow him worthy of his birth divine
" And high prediction, henceforth I expoſe
" To Satan; let him tempt and now aſſay
" His utmoſt ſubtlety." DUNSTER.

Ver. 308. *The* fugitive *bond-woman, with her ſon* &c.] Hagar, who fled from the face of her miſtreſs, *Gen.* xvi. 6, is therefore called a *fugitive:* her ſon was not a fugitive, but an *out-caſt;* ſo exact was our author in the uſe of his epithets. But then what ſhall we ſay to the words, *Out-caſt Nebaioth?* For Nebaioth was the eldeſt ſon of Iſhmael, (*Gen.* xxv. 13.) and grandſon of Abraham and Hagar. He ſeems here to be put by miſtake for Iſhmael; at leaſt it is not uſual to call the father by the name of the ſon. NEWTON.

There is no immediate inſtance of a grandſon being ſubſtituted for a ſon in ſcripture: and yet the curſe is addreſſed to Canaan, (*Gen.* ix. 25.) though it was Ham, his father, who had offended Noah: But *Nebaioth* and Canaan both gave names to a people deſcended from them, viz. the Canaanites, and Nabathœans; and therefore each of their names might attach to their fathers as the firſt ſtock of their reſpective nations. Iſhmael was not born, when Hagar fled from her miſtreſs's face, *Gen.* xvi. 6. But the term *fugitive* here refers to what is ſaid of her, *Gen.* xxi, when ſhe and her ſon were both *caſt out* at the inſtigation of Sarah, and with the approbation of God; when alſo, in her diſtreſs in

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Out-caſt Nebaioth, yet found here relief
By a providing Angel; all the race
Of Iſrael here had famiſh'd, had not God
Rain'd from Heaven manna; and that Prophet bold,

the wilderneſs, ſhe *caſt the child from her to die.* This moment of diſtreſs is the exact moment of Milton's deſcription. DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. ——————*found* here *relief*] In Milton's own edition it is "found *he* relief;" perhaps an unnoticed errour of the preſs. The editions, ſince the folio of 1688 which continues this reading, give "*here* relief." TODD.

Ver. 312. ——————*and that Prophet bold,*] In the character of Elijah, as it ſtands pourtrayed in Scripture, we trace a ſpirit and reſolution of the moſt dignified kind. Hence it is ſaid, 1 *Maccab.* ii. 58, that "he was taken up into Heaven for *being fervent and zealous* for the law." The *twelve* firſt verſes of the 48th chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus* are entirely occupied with a panegyrick upon him; in which it is ſaid, that *he ſtood up like fire*, and that *his words burned like a lamp;* which expreſſions muſt be underſtood to imply a peculiar fervour of zeal and ſpirit. Milton ſeems to have been much ſtruck with the character of this "Prophet bold," as he here terms him. He had before, ver. 16, of this Book, called him the "Great Thiſbite," and has mentioned him no leſs than four times in this Poem, and three times in his juvenile Latin Poems. *El.* iv. *In Prodit. Bombard.* and *In obit. Præſul. Eliens.* But it may be obſerved, (and I hope without impropriety,) that poſſibly he had a *political* predilection for this eminent Prophet, to whoſe lot it fell to reſiſt the tyranny of wicked kings, and to denounce the judgements of God againſt them. In this part of his office he particularly manifeſted his undaunted ſpirit; on which account he might be a favourite ſcripture-character with our author. Compare Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621. p. 480.

——————"*Theſbite* Elijah—
"Who, burning *bold* in ſpirit and ſpeech, cries out
"In Ahab's ear, and all his Court about,
"O impious Ahab!" DUNSTER.

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Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed
Twice by a voice inviting him to eat:
Of thee these forty days none hath regard,
Forty and more deserted here indeed.
To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou hence?
They all had need; I, as thou seest, have none.
How hast thou hunger then? Satan replied.
Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Would'st thou not eat?—Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus.—Why should that

Ver. 313. ——— *wandering here was fed*] It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wandered with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain, that they were very different places; for the wilderness, where Hagar wandered, was *the wilderness of Beer-sheba*, Gen. xxi. 14; and where the Israelites were fed with manna was *the wilderness of Sin*, Exod. xvi. 1; and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beer-sheba*, 1 Kings, xix. 4: and where our Saviour was tempted was the *wilderness near Jordan*. But our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, though distinguished by different names from the different places adjoining. NEWTON.

Ver. 321. *Would'st thou not eat?—Thereafter as I like*
The giver, answer'd Jesus.] Thus in *Comus*, when the Enchanter offers the cup to the Lady, and presses her to drink of it, she tells him,

"Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
"I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none
"But such as are good men can give good things; &c."
DUNSTER.

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Cauſe thy refuſal? ſaid the ſubtle Fiend.
Haſt thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures by juſt right to thee
Duty and ſervice, nor to ſtay till bid,
But tender all their power? Nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd firſt
To idols, thoſe young Daniel could refuſe;
Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who
Would ſcruple that, with want oppreſs'd? Behold,
Nature aſham'd, or, better to expreſs,
Troubled, that thou ſhould'ſt hunger, hath purveyed
From all the elements her choiceſt ſtore,
To treat thee, as beſeems, and as her Lord,
With honour; only deign to ſit and eat,

Ver. 324. *Haſt thou not right to all created things?*
Owe not all creatures by juſt right to thee
Duty and ſervice, &c. &c.] This part of the Tempter's ſpeech alludes to the heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jordan, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. One may obſerve too, that it is much the ſame ſort of flattering addreſs with that which he had before made uſe of to ſeduce Eve, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. ix. 539;

"Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,
"By gift, &c." THYER.

Ver. 333. ——— *hath purvey'd*
From all the elements *her choiceſt ſtore*,] The Latin Poets have ſimilar paſſages, deſcriptive of that unbounded luxury, which ranſacked all the elements to furniſh out the requiſite delicacies of their banquets. Thus Juv. *Sat.* xi. 14.

"Interea guſtus *elementa per omnia* quærunt."

DUNSTER.

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He ſpake no dream; for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld,
In ample ſpace under the broadeſt ſhade,
A table richly ſpread, in regal mode,

Ver 337. *He ſpake no dream*;] This was no dream, as before ver. 264, but a reality. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *A table richly ſpread*, &c.] This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great conſiſtency, and very aptly fitted to the preſent condition of our Saviour. This way of embelliſhing his ſubject is a privilege which every poet has a juſt right to, provided he obſerves harmony and decorum in his hero's character; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place ſtill a ſtronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, ſince it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than thoſe which are mentioned by the Evangeliſts; nay, Origen goes ſo far as to ſay, that he was every day, whilſt he continued in the wilderneſs, attacked by a freſh one. The beauties of this deſcription are too obvious to eſcape any reader of taſte. It is copious, and yet expreſſed with a very elegant conciſeneſs. Every proper circumſtance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the caſe, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a ſcene entirely freſh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, for which reaſon he has been the more diffuſe, and laboured it with greater care, with the ſame good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on ſcenes which he had before deſcribed. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly ſhews the crudity of that notion which ſo much prevails among ſuperficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his *Paradiſe Regained*. THYER.

The banquet, as Dr. Newton obſerves, is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. x. ſt. 64. Temptations of this kind are indeed common in romances. In the third act of an old drama, entitled *The Wiſdome of Dr. Dodypoll*, 4to. 1600, there is alſo a ſimilar ſcene. See my note on *Comus*, v. 659. TODD.

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With diſhes pil'd, and meats of nobleſt ſort
And ſavour; beaſts of chaſe, or fowl of game,
In paſtry built, or from the ſpit, or boil'd,
Gris-amber-ſteam'd; all fiſh, from ſea or ſhore,
Freſhet or purling brook, of ſhell or fin, 345

Ver. 340. —— *richly ſpread, in* regal mode,] *Regal mode* was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expence of the Court at that time: it is however well *covered* by claſſical authority. Thus Sil. Ital. xi. 272.

" Inſtituunt de more epulas, feſtamque per urbem
" *Regifice extructis* celebrant convivia *menſis*."

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 604.

—— " epulæque ante ora paratæ
" *Regifico* luxu." DUNSTER.

Ver. 343. *In paſtry built,*] The paſtry in the beginning of the laſt century, was frequently of conſiderable magnitude and ſolidity. Of ſuch kind muſt have been the pye in which Jeoffrey Hudſon, afterwards King James's Dwarf, when eight years old, was ſerved up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham. We may ſuppoſe this pye was not conſiderably larger than was uſual on ſuch occaſions, otherwiſe the joke would have loſt much of its effect from ſomething extraordinary being expected. A ſpecies of *mural* paſtry ſeems to have prevailed in ſome of the preceding centuries, when artificial repreſentations of caſtles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feaſts, and were called *ſuttleties, ſubtilties*, or *ſotilties*.——Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the inthronization of Archbiſhop Warham in 1504, (*Collectanea*, vol. 6,) mentions " a ſuttlety of three ſtages, with vanes and towres embattled," and " a warner with eight towres embattled, and made with flowres;" which poſſibly meant *made in paſtry*.—In the catalogue of the expences at this feaſt, there is a charge for wax and ſugar, *in operatione de le ſotiltics*. Probably the wax and ſugar were employed to render the paſte of flour more adheſive and tenacious, the better to ſupport itſelf when moulded into ſuch a variety of forms. DUNSTER.

Ver. 345. Freſhet *or purling brook,*] Freſhet, *a ſtream of*

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And exquiſiteſt name, for which was drain'd
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coaſt.

freſh water. So Browne, in his *Brit. Paſtorals*, 1613, B. ii. S. iii. of fiſh, who

" Now love the *freſhet*, and then love the ſea." TODD.

Ver. 346. *And exquiſiteſt name*,] This alludes to that ſpecies of Roman luxury, which gave *exquiſite names* to fiſh of exquiſite taſte, ſuch as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious diſh, as that they called *clypeum Minervæ*. The modern Italians fall into the ſame wantonneſs of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquiſite wines by the names of *lacrymæ Chriſti* and *lac Virginis*. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ——————*for which was drain'd*
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coaſt.] The fiſh are brought to furniſh this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus*, or the Euxine Sea, in Aſia; from the *Lucrine Bay*, in Italy; and from the *coaſt of Africa*; all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fiſh by the authors of antiquity. NEWTON.

Milton had here in his mind the exceſſive luxury of the Romans in the article of fiſh; in regard to which it is ſaid by Juvenal that, having exhauſted their own ſeas, they were obliged to be ſupplied from their diſtant provinces. DUNSTER.

Ver. 347. *Pontus*, &c.] Pliny obſerves how quickly all ſorts of fiſh came to perfection in the *Pontus Euxinus*. " Piſcium genus omne præcipua celeritate adoleſcit, maxime in *Ponto*. Cauſa, multitudo amnium dulces inferentium aquas." L. ix. 15. Horace notices the ſhell-fiſh of the Lucrine Lake, *Epod*. ii. 49. " Non me *Lucrina* juverint *conchylia*;" and particularly commends its muſcles, *Sat*. II. iv. 32. Martial records the excellence of the *Lucrine* Oyſters, Lib. iii. *Ep*. ix. 3. Theſe were ſo much in requeſt that *Lucrina* alone is uſed by the laſt-mentioned poet to ſignify oyſters. L. vi. *Ep*. xi. 5. & L. xii. *Ep*. xlviii. 4. Aulus Gellius, in his chapter on Roman Luxury, extracted from the Satire of M. Varro περὶ ἰδισμάτων, notices the Lamprey from the Straits of Gibraltar, *Muræna Tarteſſia*. L. vii. 16. It is related by Athenæus (B. i. p. 7.) that the celebrated Roman

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(Alas, how ſimple, to theſe cates compar'd,
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!)
And at a ſtately ſide-board, by the wine
That fragrant ſmell diffus'd, in order ſtood

glutton Apicius, having been uſed to eat at Minternæ a ſort of cray-fiſh, which exceeded the lobſters of Alexandria in bigneſs, when he was told there were ſome of theſe fiſh ſtill larger, to be found on the *coaſt of Africa*, ſailed thither immediately, in ſpite of a great many inconveniencies. The fiſhermen, who were apprized of the object of his voyage, met him with the largeſt they had taken; but as ſoon as he found they had none which exceeded thoſe he had been uſed to eat at Minternæ, he ſailed back inſtantly without going on ſhore. DUNSTER.

Ver. 349. ——————— *that* diverted *Eve!*)] *Diverted* is here uſed in the Latin ſignification of diverto, *to turn aſide.* NEWTON.

Diverted is often thus employed in old Engliſh poetry. See Nicols's *Cuckow*, 1607, p. 10. And Drayton's *Owle*, 1604. And Spenſer, *F. Q.* iii. iii. 62. In Milton's time this uſage of the word appears to have been common. Thus, in his *Eiconoclaſtes*, chap. xi. "Which omen, taken from his own mouth, God hath not *diverted*." Again, chap. xxii. "He *diverted* his courſe." TODD.

Ver. 350. *And at a ſtately ſide-board*, &c.] As the ſcene of this entertainment lay in the eaſt, Milton has with great judgement thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of caſtern grandeur; as in that part of the world, it is well known, a great part of the pomp and ſplendour of their feaſts conſiſts in their having a great number of beautiful ſlaves of both ſexes, to attend and divert the gueſts with muſick and ſinging. THYER.

Ver. 350. ——————————— *wine*
That fragrant ſmell diffus'd,] Thus Homer, *Odyſſ.* ix. 210,

—— ὀδμὴ δ' ἠδεῖα ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀδώδει
Θεσπεσίη. ————————

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Tall ſtripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas; diſtant more
Under the trees now tripp'd, now ſolemn ſtood,

And Ovid, *Faſt.* iii. 301.

" Plenáque *odorati* Dîs ponit pocula *Bacchi*."

The Ancients prized their wines according to their fragrance. Οἶνος ἀνθοσμίας was the term of ſupreme commendation among the Greeks. DUNSTER.

Ver. 353. *Than Ganymed or Hylas;*] Theſe were two moſt beautiful youths, the one beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer, the other by Hercules, for whom he drew water: they are therefore both properly mentioned upon this occaſion. NEWTON.

Milton had mentioned theſe two boys in his *ſeventh Elegy*, where he compares the God of Love to them. In which he had moſt probably an eye to Spenſer's deſcription of Fancy in his *Maſk of Cupid*, *Faer. Qu.* iii. xii. 7.

" The firſt was *Fancy*, like a lovely boy, &c."

DUNSTER.

Milton here alludes to the deſcription of the coſtly tables of the Romans, their *waiters*, &c. given by an author, to whoſe opinions he was certainly partial: " Seneca deſcribes the order and number of their *waiters* more particularly: They had *waiting on them*, ſaith he, *puerorum infelicium greges*, whole troopes of vnfortunate *Ganymedes*, &c." Hakewill's *Apol. of the Power and Providence of God*, fol. ed. 1630, p. 376. TODD.

Ver. 354. ——————— *now ſolemn* ſtood,] The ſame idea of graceful attitude is given in a line of *Comus*, where the Enchanter, ſpeaking to the Lady of her Brothers, whom he profeſſes to have ſeen, ſays,

" Their port was *more than human as they ſtood.*"

Hamlet likewiſe, in the ſcene with his mother, thus exemplifies the *gracefulneſs* of his father's perſon,

" A *ſtation* like the herald Mercury
" New-lighted on a heaven-kiſſing hill;"

where ſtation is *attitude*, or *the act of ſtanding*. DUNSTER.

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Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd
Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Ver. 355. *Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades*
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides.] The poet perhaps specifies these beautiful attendants, as more eminently possessing the power of beguiling the heart: *The Nymphs of Diana's train*, on account of their remarkable beauty; see *Odyss.* vi. 110. *The Naiades*, as having been companions of the enchantress, Circe; see *Comus*, ver. 254. And *The ladies of the Hesperides*, by their skill in singing. See notes on *Comus*, v. 981. Compare also P. Fletcher's *Purp. Ist.* 1613. C. x. st. 30.

"Choice *Nymph*, the crown of chaste *Diana's train*,
"Thou beautie's lilie, &c." TODD.

Ibid. ——————— Naiades
With fruits *and* flowers *from* Amalthea's horn,] The story of *Amalthea's horn*, strictly so called, is given by Ovid, *Fast*, v. 115, &c. But in the beginning of the ninth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, a different history of a *Cornucopia* is given, which seems to be more immediately referred to in this passage of the *Paradise Regained*.

"Nec satis id fuerat; rigidum fera dextera cornu
"Dum tenet infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.
"*Naiades hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum,*
"*Sacrarunt;* divésque meo bona Copia cornu est."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 358. *Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since*] Some readers may perhaps, in this passage, think our author a little too fond of showing his great reading; a fault, of which he is indeed sometimes guilty: But those who are conversant in romance-writers, and know how lavish they are in the praises of their beauties, will, I doubt not, discover great propriety in this allusion. THYER.

Whenever Milton takes any images from his favourite romances, he immediately rises, as here, into the most exquisite

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Of faery damſels, met in foreſt wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones, 360

poetry; and ſeems to finiſh his lines with peculiar pleaſure and art. Jos. WARTON.

Ver. 359. —*fairy damſels, met in foreſt wide*
By knights of Logres, *or of* Lyones,
Lancelot, *or* Pelleas, *or* Pellenore.] Sir *Lancelot*, *Pelleas*, and *Pellenore*, (the latter by the title of *King* Pellenore,) are *Perſons* in the old Romance of *Morte d' Arthur*, or *The Lyf of King Arthur, of his noble Knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous deth of them all;* written originally in French, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by William Caxton, 1484.—From this old Romance, Mr. Warton, (*Obſervations on Spenſer*, Sect. 2,) ſhows that Spenſer borrowed much. Sir Lancelot is there called of *Logris;* and Sir Triſtram is named of *Lyones*, under which title he appears alſo in the *Faery Queen*. *Logris* is the ſame with *Loegria* (according to the more fabulous hiſtorians, and amongſt them Milton,) an old name for England. Hollinſhed calls it both *Loegria* and *Logiers*. See his *Hiſtory of England*, B. ii. 4, 5. The ſame author, in his *Deſcription of Britain*, inſtead of *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, writes it *Lhoegres*. The Title of his 22d Chapter is, *after what manner the ſoveraignetie of this iſle doth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England*. Spenſer, in his *Faery Queen*, where he gives the *Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to Uther's reign*, calls it *Logris*, ii. x. 14.

" And Camber did poſſeſs the weſtern quart,
" Which Severn now from *Logris* doth depart."

Lyones was an old name for *Cornwall*, or at leaſt for a part of that county. Camden, (in his *Britannia*,) ſpeaking of the *Land's End*, ſays, " the inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory did once reach farther to the Weſt, which the ſea-men poſitively conclude from the rubbiſh they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too, from a certain old tradition, that the land there drowned by the incurſions of the ſea was called *Lioneſſe*." Sir Triſtram of Lyones, or Lioneſſe, is well known to the readers of the old romances. In the *French* tranſlation of the *Orlando Inamorato* of Boiardo, he is termed *Triſtran de Leonnois*, although

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Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.
And all the while harmonious airs were heard

in the original he is only mentioned by the ſingle name of Triſtran. In the *Orlando Inamorato* alſo, among the knights, who defend Angelica in the fortreſs of Albracca againſt Agrican, is Sir Hubert of Lyones, *Uberto dal Lione.*——Triſtram, in his account of himſelf in the *Faery Queen*, vi. ii. 28, ſays,

" And Triſtram is my name, the only heire
" Of good king Meliogras, which did rayne
" In *Cornewale*, 'till that he through lives deſpeire
" Untimely dyde."

He then relates how his Uncle ſeiſed upon the crown, whereupon his Mother, conceiving great fears for her Son's perſonal ſafety, determined to ſend him into " ſome foreign land,"

" Out of the countrie wherein I was bred,
" The which the fertile *Lioneſſe* is hight,
" Into the land of Faerie."

Theſe particulars, Mr. Warton ſhows, are drawn from the *Morte d' Arthur*, where it is ſaid " there was a knight Meliodas, and he was Lord and King of the county of Lyones, and he wedded King Marke's ſiſter of Cornewale." The iſſue of this marriage was Sir Triſtram. Theſe Knights, he alſo obſerves, are there often repreſented as meeting beautiful damſels in deſolate foreſts. Sir *Pelleas*, " a very valorous knight of Arthur's round table," is one of thoſe who purſue the Blatant Beaſt, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir Calidore, it " broke its iron chain" and again " ranged through the world," *Faery Qu.* vi. xii. 39.

Milton's later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times where, as he himſelf told us, " his younger feet wandered," when he " betook him among thoſe lofty fables and romances, which recount in ſolemn Cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Chriſtendome." *Apol. for Smectym.* p.177. *Proſe Works*, ed. Amſt. 1698. DUNSTER.

Ver. 362. *And all the while harmonious airs were heard*
Of chiming *ſtrings*, *or* charming pipes;] Thus in *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 558,

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Of chiming ſtrings, or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentleſt gale Arabian odours fann'd
From their ſoft wings, and Flora's earlieſt ſmells.

——————— "the ſound
"Of inſtruments *that made melodious chime.*"

And again, ver. 594, "*charming ſymphonies.*" Spenſer, as Mr. Calton obſerves, thus likewiſe uſes the verb *to charm*, Faer. Qu. v. ix. 13.

"Like as the fouler on his guilefull *pype*
"*Charmes* to the birds full many a pleaſant lay."

But Spenſer has *to charm* frequently in this ſenſe. Thus, in his *Colin Clout's come home again*, of his ſhepherd's boy,

"*Charming his oaten pipe* unto his peers."

And again in the concluſion of his *October*,

"Here we our *ſlender pipes* may ſafely *charme*."

DUNSTER.

Milton uſes the expreſſion "*charming pipe*," in his *Proſe-Works* alſo. "The *charming pipe* of him who ſounded and proclaimed liberty &c." vol. i. p. 281. edit. 1698. TODD.

Ver. 363. ——————— *and winds*
Of gentleſt gales Arabian odours fann'd
From their ſoft wings,] Mr. Thyer, who ſuppoſes this circumſtance introduced in compliance with the eaſtern cuſtom of uſing perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the ſimilarity of the following lines, *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 156.

——————— "now gentle gales,
"*Fanning* their odoriferous wings, diſpenſe
"Native perfumes, and whiſper whence they ſtole
"Thoſe balmy ſpoils."

He might alſo have cited a beautiful line from our Author's early *Elegy*, *In adventum veris*;

"Cinnameâ Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer alâ."

Milton in the ſame Elegy refers to the "Arabian odours;" and in the continuation of the paſſage from the *Paradiſe Loſt*, exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he ſpeaks of the winds blowing

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Such was the ſplendour; and the Tempter now
His invitation earneſtly renew'd.
What doubts the Son of God to ſit and eat?
Theſe are not fruits forbidden; no interdict
Defends the touching of theſe viands pure;
Their taſte no knowledge works, at leaſt of evil,

" Sabæan odours from the *ſpicy ſhore*
" *Of Araby the bleſt.*" DUNSTER.

See likewiſe *Par. Loſt*, B. viii. 515, &c. And compare Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* i. 1142; and particularly the following paſſage from Drayton, *Muſes Eliz.* 1630, p. 138.

" Where the *ſoft windes* did mutually embrace,
" In the cool arbours Nature there had made;
" *Fanning their ſweet breath* gently in his face,
" Through the calm cincture of the amorous ſhade."

And ſee alſo my notes on *Par. L.* B. v. 6. B. x. 92. TODD.

Ver. 366. *Such was the ſplendour;*] Virgil deſcribing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, (*Æn.* i. 637,) ſays,

" At domus interior regali *ſplendida* luxu
" *Inſtruitur;*

on which La Cerda obſerves, " Apte et ſignate *ſplendida*, nam *ſplendor* de conviviis ſæpe;" and he cites from Athenæus, B. iii. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝ δεῖπνὸν παρασκευήν. DUNSTER.

Ver. 369. *Theſe are not fruits forbidden; no interdict*
Defends the touching of theſe viands pure;
Their taſte no knowledge works, at leaſt of evil,]
This ſarcaſtical alluſion to the Fall of Man, and to that particular command by the tranſgreſſion of which, being ſeduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the ſpeaker.

Milton, in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, terms the forbidden fruit " the tree of *interdicted* knowledge." And, in the eighth Book, where Adam, relating to the Angel what he remembered ſince his own creation, particularly recites the " rigid *interdiction*," ver. 323—335. DUNSTER.

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But life preſerves, deſtroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with ſweet reſtorative delight.
All theſe are Spirits of air, and woods, and ſprings,
Thy gentle miniſters, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord:
What doubt'ſt thou, Son of God? Sit down and eat.

To whom thus Jeſus temperately replied.
Said'ſt thou not that to all things I had right?
And who withholds my power that right to uſe?
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me beſt, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as ſoon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderneſs,
And call ſwift flights of Angels miniſtrant
Array'd in glory on my cup to attend:
Why ſhould'ſt thou then obtrude this diligence,
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what haſt thou to do?

Ver. 374. *All theſe are Spirits of air, and woods, and ſprings,*] Theſe "Spirits of air, and woods, and ſprings," remind us of Shakſpeare's "Elves of hills, brooks, ſtanding lakes, and groves," in the *Tempeſt*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 384. *Command a table* &c.] From *Pſalm* lxxviii. 19. "They ſaid, Can God furniſh a table in the wilderneſs."
RICHARDSON.

Ver. 385. ——— *flights of Angels*] An expreſſion likewiſe in Shakſpeare, *Hamlet*, A. v. S. vi. "And *flights of Angels* ſing thee to thy reſt." NEWTON.

Compare St. *Matt.* xxvi. 53. DUNSTER.

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Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy ſpecious gifts no gifts, but guiles.
To whom thus anſwer'd Satan malecontent.
That I have alſo power to give, thou ſeeſt;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have beſtow'd on whom I pleas'd,
And rather opportunely in this place
Choſe to impart to thy apparent need,
Why ſhould'ſt thou not accept it? but I ſee
What I can do or offer is ſuſpect;
Of theſe things others quickly will diſpoſe,
Whoſe pains have earn'd the far-fet ſpoil. With that
Both table and proviſion vaniſh'd quite

Ver. 391. *And count thy ſpecious gifts no gifts, but guiles.*] Not without a reſemblance to Virgil. *Æn.* ii. 49.

——" timeo Danaos et *dona ferentes;*"

and to a preceding part of the ſame ſpeech of Laocoon;

——" O miſeri, quæ tanta inſania, cives?
" Creditis avectos hoſtes, aut ulla putatis
" *Dona carere dolis Danaum?*"

Dr. Newton obſerves, that " *thy gifts no gifts*" is from Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 675.

Εχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα, κ' οὐκ ὀνήσιμα. DUNSTER.

Compare our author, in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, ſect. xi. " Shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of *our more wicked enemies, whoſe* GIFTS ARE NO GIFTS, *but the inſtruments of our bane?*" TODD.

Ver. 401. —— *far-fet*] Dr. Newton collects ſeveral inſtances of Chaucer, Spenſer, and Johnſon, uſing *fet*; and accompanies them with an obſervation " that *fet* is much ſofter than fetch'd," upon which he grounds another remark that

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With ſound of harpies' wings and talons heard:
Only the impórtune Tempter ſtill remain'd,
And with theſe words his temptation purſued.
By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd;
Thy temperance, invincible beſides,
For no allurement yields to appetite;

" our old writers had a better ear, and ſtudied the beauties of ſound more than the moderns." I confeſs, to my ear *far-fetch'd* reads at leaſt as muſically as *far-fet*. But "*fet*" is one of thoſe *old* words which Milton ſometimes introduces purpoſely to deviate from the more modernifed language of the day. Obvious and ordinary forms of ſpeech, as Addiſon obſerves, in his *Critique* on the *Language* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, are ſo far debaſed by common uſe, that they became improper for a poet or an orator. " Old words," he adds, " make a poem appear the more venerable, by giving it an air of antiquity." *Fet* is frequently uſed for *fetched* in our verſion of the Scriptures. DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. ——————— *With that*
Both table and proviſion vaniſh'd quite
With ſound of harpies' wings and talons heard:]
See the notes on *Comus*, ver. 659. TODD.

Ver. 403. *With ſound* &c.] The *ſound* of the wings and talons is much finer than if the harpies had been *ſeen*, becauſe the imagination is left at work, and the ſurpriſe is greater than if they had been mentioned before. T. WARTON.

As this infernally magical banquet vaniſhes, the attendant ſpirits (ſee before ver. 236) who had appeared in the ſcene as " tall ſtripling youths, nymphs of Diana's train, or ladies of the Heſperides," reſume their proper infernal ſhapes. Milton, we may obſerve, characteriſes the Furies as *harpy-footed*, Par. Loſt, B. ii. 596. DUNSTER.

Ver. 404. ——— impórtune] Spenſer and our old poets write *impórtune*, thus accented; *Faer. Qu.* i. xii. 16.

" And often blame the too *impórtune* fate." NEWTON.

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And all thy heart is ſet on high deſigns,
High actions: but wherewith to be achiev'd?
Great acts require great means of enterpriſe;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thyſelf
Bred up in poverty and ſtraits at home,
Loſt in a deſart here and hunger-bit:
Which way, or from what hope, doſt thou aſpire
To greatneſs? whence authority deriv'ſt?
What followers, what retinue canſt thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,
Longer than thou canſt feed them on thy coſt?
Money brings honour, friends, conqueſt, and realms;

Ver. 416. ——————— *hunger-bit*:] This word occurs in *Job*, xviii. 12, as Mr. Dunſter has remarked. It is alſo an old poetical compound. Thus, in a Sonnet by H. C. prefixed to *The Workes of the Rev. M. R. Greenham*, 4to. 2d edit. 1599.

"The thirſtie ſoule, that fainteth in the way;
"Or *hunger-bit* for heavenly foode doth long."

And, in Arden of Feverſham, 4to, 1599. Sign. D. 3.

"The *hunger-bitten* woolfe." TODD.

Ver. 420. *Or at thy heels the* dizzy multitude,
Longer than thou canſt feed them on thy coſt?] The *dizzy multitude* is the *ventoſa plebs* of the Roman poet, who ſpeaks of *them*, as to be *gained* in the ſame manner. Hor. *Epiſt.* I. xix. 37.

"Non ego *ventoſæ plebis* ſuffragia venor
"*Impenſis cœnarum*."

See alſo Shakeſpeare, *Henry* V. A. iv. S. iii.

"Nor care I who doth *feed upon my coſt*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 422. *Money brings honour, friends, conqueſt, and realms*:]

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What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
And his ſon Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,
Thy throne, but gold that got him puiſſant friends?
Therefore, if at great things thou would'ſt arrive,
Get riches firſt, get wealth, and treaſure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me:
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;

Mammon, in the *Faery Queen*, attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the ſame pretences, ii. vii. 11.

" Vain-glorious Elf, ſaid he, doſt thou not weet,
" That money can thy wants at will ſupply?
" Shields, ſteeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet,
" It can purvey in twinkling of an eye:
" And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
" Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
" Sometimes to him that low in duſt doth lie?
" And him that reign'd into his room thruſt down;
" And whom, I luſt, do heap with glory and renown?"

CALTON.

Ver. 423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,*
And his ſon Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,] This appears to be the fact from hiſtory. When Joſephus introduces Antipater upon the ſtage, he ſpeaks of him as abounding with great riches. Φίλὸς δὲ τὶς Ὑρκανῷ Ἰδυμαίῳ, Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν ὑπαρχῶν χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ. *Antiq.* lib. xiv. cap. ii. And his ſon Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony, partly for the ſake of the money which he promiſed to give him; τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν ἀυτῷ Ἡρώδης ὑπίσχετο δώσειν εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεὺς. Ibid. cap. xxvi. NEWTON.

Ver. 427. *Get riches firſt,*] Hor. *Epiſt.* I. i. 53.

———" quærenda pecunia primum eſt." NEWTON.

Ver. 429. *Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;*
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,] This temptation we owe to our author's invention, as Mr. Thyer

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They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valour, wiſdom, ſit in want.
To whom thus Jeſus patiently replied.
Yet wealth, without theſe three, is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
Witneſs thoſe ancient empires of the earth,
In highth of all their flowing wealth diſſolv'd:
But men endued with theſe have oft attain'd
In loweſt poverty to higheſt deeds;
Gideon, and Jephtha, and the ſhepherd lad,

obſerves, who adds, that "it is very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the reader on to the ſtronger ones in the following books." It affords alſo a fine opportunity of concluding this book with ſome reflexions, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has juſtly noted, on the inſufficiency of riches and power to the happineſs of mankind. The language here reminds us of Spenſer, who puts a ſimilar ſpeech in the mouth of Mammon, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 8. DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. *To whom thus Jeſus patiently replied.*] When our Saviour, a little before, refuſed to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line ran thus, ver. 378.

"To whom thus Jeſus *temperately* replied."

But now when Satan has reproached him with his poverty and low circumſtances, the word is fitly altered, and the verſe runs thus,

"To whom thus Jeſus *patiently* replied." NEWTON.

Ver. 439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the ſhepherd lad,*] Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his firſt inſtances from Scripture, and of his own nation, as being the beſt known to him; but it is with great art that the poet alſo ſuppoſes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen hiſtory, for the ſake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon ſaith of himſelf, "*O my Lord, wherewith ſhall I ſave Iſrael? behold my family is poor in Manaſſeh, and I am the leaſt in my father's houſe.* Judges, vi. 15.

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Whoſe offspring on the throne of Judah ſat
So many ages, and ſhall yet regain
That ſeat, and reign in Iſrael without end.
Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial,) canſt thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?

And Jephtha "*was the ſon of an harlot,*" and his brethren "*thruſt him out, and ſaid unto him, Thou ſhalt not inherit in our father's houſe, for thou art the ſon of a ſtrange woman.*" Judges, xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a ſheep-hook to a ſcepter is very well known. NEWTON.

David is alſo called the "ſhepherd lad," in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, 1633. c. ix. ſt. 17.

"Upon his ſhield was drawn that *ſhepherd lad*,
"Who with a ſling threw down ſaint Iſrael's fears."

TODD.

Ver. 446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*] *Quintius Cincinnatus* was twice invited from following the plough, to be conſul and dictator of Rome; and after he had ſubdued the enemy, when the ſenate would have enriched him with publick lands and private contributions, he rejected all theſe offers, and retired again to his cottage and old courſe of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negociating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died ſo poor, that he was buried at the publick expence, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treaſury. *Curius Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the ſenate had aſſigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambaſſadors of the Samnites offered him a large ſum of money as he was ſitting at the fire and roaſting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refuſed to take it, ſaying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command thoſe who were ſo. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken priſoner by the Carthaginians, and ſent with the ambaſſadours to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no

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For I eſteem thoſe names of men ſo poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

peace or exchange of priſoners ſhould be agreed upon: but was himſelf the firſt to diſſuade a peace, and choſe to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than ſuffer the ſenate to conclude a diſhonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites theſe inſtances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did thoſe of his own nation: And, as Mr. Calton obſerves, the Romans in the moſt degenerate times were fond of theſe (and ſome other like) examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all ſorts delight to introduce them: but the greateſt honour that poetry ever did them is here, by the praiſe of the Son of God. NEWTON.

Ver. 447. *For I eſteem thoſe names of men ſo poor,*
Who could do mighty things, &c.] The author had here plainly Claudian in his mind. *De IV. Conſ. Honor.* 412.

" Diſcitur hinc quantum paupertas ſobria poſſit:
" Pauper erat Curius, cum reges vinceret armis;
" Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum ſperneret aurum;
" Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator aratra; &c."

And again, *In Rufinum*, i. 200.

" Semper inops, quicunque cupit. Contentus honeſto
" Fabricius parvo ſpernebat munera regum,
" Sudabátque gravi Conſul Serranus aratro,
" Et caſa pugnaces Curios anguſta tegebat.
" Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior."

It is probable that he remembered here ſome of his beloved republicans,

——" thoſe names of men ſo poor
" Who could do mighty things;"

and it is poſſible that he might alſo think of himſelf, who

——" could contemn
" Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings;"

if that ſtory be true of his having been offered to be Latin ſecretary to Charles the Second, and of his refuſing it.

NEWTON.

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Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.
And what in me ſeems wanting, but that I
May alſo in this poverty as ſoon
Accompliſh what they did, perhaps and more?
Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,
The wiſe man's cumbrance, if not ſnare; more apt
To ſlacken Virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praiſe.
What if with like averſion I reject
Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,
Golden in ſhow, is but a wreath of thorns,

With the citation of "Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings," compare Plutarch, Life of Cicero: Καὶ δῶρα μὲν οὐδὲ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΔΙΔΟΝΤΩΝ ἔλαβε. DUNSTER.

Ver. 453. *Extol not riches then*, &c.] Milton concludes this book, and our Saviour's reply to Satan, with a ſeries of thoughts as noble and juſt, and as worthy of the ſpeaker, as can poſſibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the *Paradiſe Regained* is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not conſiſt ſo much in bold figures and ſtrong images, as in deep and virtuous ſentiments expreſſed with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majeſty, this is as true an inſtance of the ſublime, as the battles of the Angels in the *Paradiſe Loſt*. THYER.

Ibid. ——————— *the toil of fools,*
The wiſe man's cumbrance, if not ſnare; more apt
To ſlacken Virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praiſe.] Thus Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 297.

"Prima peregrinos obſcœna pecunia mores
"Intulit, et turpi fregerunt ſæcula luxu
"Divitiæ molles."

And ſee Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 12, 13. DUNSTER.

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Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and ſleepleſs nights,
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his ſhoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein ſtands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praiſe,
That for the publick all this weight he bears.

Ver. 463. *For therein ſtands the office of a king,*
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praiſe,
That for the publick all this weight he bears.] Milton, in the height of his political ardour, declared that he was not actuated "by hatred to kings, but only to tyrants." Neither is there any occaſion to queſtion the truth of his aſſertion; but ſuch was his apprehenſion of *monarchical* tyranny, that the current of his prejudices certainly ran very ſtrongly in favour of a republican government. Even in one of his lateſt political publications, *The ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth*, he profeſſes that "though there may be ſuch a king, who may regard the common good before his own, yet this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective;" and, on this ground, he ſtrongly remonſtrates againſt the *riſk* of admitting *Kingſhip*. The conteſt however was now completely over; and our author, having ſeen the fallacy not only of his hopes, but alſo of his confidence in thoſe perſons, of whoſe conſummate hypocriſy his ardent integrity had been the dupe, ſeems, in thus ſketching out the laborious duties of a good and patriotick prince, to be ſomewhat more reconciled to kingly government. About this time alſo, ſeemingly under the ſame impreſſion, he had proceeded in his Hiſtory, and compoſed the fifth and ſixth Books, in which we find no marks of any ſplenetick diſlike to kings: on the contrary, many of the characters of our early monarchs are drawn not merely with an impartial hand, but often with a favourable one. The character of Alfred in particular is given with the moſt affectionate admiration, and is not without its reſemblance to the compreſſed deſcription of a good king in this place. See his *Hiſt. of Eng.* B. v. DUNSTER.

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Yet he, who reigns within himſelf, and rules
Paſſions, deſires, and fears, is more a king;
Which every wiſe and virtuous man attains;
And who attains not, ill aſpires to rule
Cities of men, or headſtrong multitudes,
Subject himſelf to anarchy within,
Or lawleſs paſſions in him, which he ſerves.
But to guide nations in the way of truth
By ſaving doctrine, and from errour lead
To know, and knowing worſhip God aright,

Ver. 466. *Yet he, who reigns within himſelf*, &c.] Such ſentiments are inculcated not only by the philoſophers, but alſo by the poets; as Hor. *Od.* II. ii. 9.

"Latius regnes avidum domando
"Spiritum, &c."

and ſee *Sat.* II. vii. 83. NEWTON.

"The *Paradiſe Regained*," Mr. Hayley very juſtly obſerves, "is a poem that particularly deſerves to be recommended to ardent and ingenuous youth, as it is admirably calculated to inſpire *that ſpirit of ſelf-command, which is*, as Milton eſteemed it, *the trueſt heroiſm, and the triumph of Chriſtianity*." Life of Milton, p. 126. DUNSTER.

Ver. 471. *Subject himſelf to anarchy within,*
Or lawleſs paſſions in him, which he ſerves.] Palpably alluding to Charles the Second, and his diſſolute manners. Compare Par. Loſt, B. xii. 86, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 473. *But to guide nations in the way of truth*
By ſaving doctrine, and from errour lead
To know, and knowing worſhip God aright,
Is yet more kingly;] In this ſpeech concerning riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choiceſt, fineſt flowers out of the heathen poets and philoſophers who have

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Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.
Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.

written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved. But here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our Blessed Saviour. NEWTON.

Ver. 478. *That other o'er the body only reigns,*
And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.] This is perfectly consonant to our Lord's early sentiments, as the poet describes him relating them in the first Book of this Poem, ver. 221, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. *Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought*
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.] So Hephæstion to those who transferred the kingdom of Sidon from themselves to another. (Quint. Curt. IV. 1.) "Vos quidem macti virtute inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset, regnum fastidire quam accipere, &c." Diocletian, Charles V. and others, who have resigned the crown, were perhaps in our author's thought, upon this occasion. For, as Seneca says, *Thyest*, III. 529.

"Habere regnum, casus est: virtus, dare." NEWTON.

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our author

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Riches are needleſs then, both for themſelves,

had before paid her conſiderable compliments. The verſes under Cromwell's picture, ſent to Chriſtina, have been generally ſuppoſed to be his: though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel, and adds that he ſuſpects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiack Latinity had long ago ceaſed." What ground he had for this ſuſpicion he does not ſpecify, nor is it eaſy to conjecture. I ſhould not willingly perſuade myſelf that our author could ſoon loſe any faculty which he had acquired. Beſides, theſe verſes muſt have been written before the year 1654, when Chriſtina abdicated; and only nine years before that, when he publiſhed a collection of his Latin and Engliſh poems in 1645, he had added to his *ſeventh Elegy* ten lines which ſufficiently ſhow that he then perfectly retained his Elegiack Latinity; and why it ſhould be ſuppoſed entirely to ceaſe in eight or nine years more I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his aſſociate in the ſecretaryſhip till the year 1657, Milton has officially the beſt claim to them. It was alſo an employment which, we may well ſuppoſe, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Chriſtina, and was particularly flattered with the idea that, on reading his *Defenſio Populi*, ſhe withdrew all her protection from his antagoniſt Salmaſius, who was then reſident at her court, and whom, it was then ſaid, ſhe diſmiſſed with contempt, as a paraſite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his *Defenſio ſecunda*, Milton honours her with a moſt ſplendid panegyrick; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices againſt kings, nor any wiſh wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himſelf upon having a witneſs of his integrity *tam vere regiam*. The expreſſion is ſufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty, but it is well worth obſerving, when it comes from one who ſo ſeldom ſings in that ſtrain. It may alſo be noticed here, as we trace a reſemblance of it in ſome of the preceding lines, where our author having ſaid that in the laborious and diſintereſted diſcharge of magiſtracy conſiſts the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to aſcribe a ſuperiour degree of royalty, or the moſt diſtinguiſhed

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And for thy reaſon why they ſhould be ſought,

eminence, to him who is duly practiſed in the habit of ſelf-command;

" Yet he who reigns within himſelf and rules
" Paſſions, deſires, and fears, is *more a king;*"

and ſtill more to him who conſcientiouſly labours for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion;

" But to guide nations in the way of truth
" By ſaving doctrine, and from errour lead
" To know, and knowing worſhip God aright,
" Is yet *more kingly.*"

Milton it appears however was rather unfortunate in his ſelection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the Verſes to Chriſtina, collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and abſurdities: and Harte, the Engliſh hiſtorian of Guſtavus Adolphus, terms her "an unaccountable woman; reading much, yet not extremely learned; a collector and critick in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming concluſions without taſte; affecting pomp, and rendering herſelf a beggar; fond to receive ſervile dependance, yet diveſting herſelf of the means; paying court to the moſt ſerious chriſtians, and making profeſſion of little leſs than atheiſm." But our author ſaw only the bright ſide of her character, and conſidered her as a learned, pious, patriotick, diſintereſted princeſs. DUNSTER.

See further information, drawn from indiſputable authority, relating to the extraordinary Christina, in my note on the Poet's *Verſes to her.* TODD.

Ver. 482. ——————— *and to lay down*
Far more magnanimous, than to aſſume.] We may rather trace Milton here to Macrobius, than to the paſſage cited in a preceding note, from Q. Curtius by Dr. Newton. " Quid? quod duas virtutes, quæ inter nobiles quoque unice claræ ſunt, in uno video fuiſſe mancipio, imperium regendi peritiam et *imperium contemnendi magnanimitatem.* Anaxilaus enim Meſſenius,

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To gain a ſcepter, oftеſt better miſs'd.

qui Meſſanam in Sicilia condidit, fuit Rheginorum tyrannus. Is, cum parvos relinqueret liberos, Micitho ſervo ſuo commendaſſe contentus eſt. Is tutelam ſancte geſſit; imperiumque tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rhegini a ſervo regi non dedignarentur. Perductus deinde in ætatem pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipſe parvo viatico ſumpto profectus eſt; et Olympiæ cum ſumma tranquilitate conſenuit." *Saturnal.* i. 11. DUNSTER.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

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THE

THIRD BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

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THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, in a ſpeech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jeſus a paſſion for glory, by particulariſing various inſtances of conqueſts achieved, and great actions performed, by perſons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by ſhowing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained; and contraſts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wiſdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan juſtifies the love of glory from the example of God himſelf, who requires it from all his creatures. Jeſus detects the fallacy of this argument, by ſhowing that, as goodneſs is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, ſinful Man can have no right whatever to it.—Satan then urges our Lord reſpecting his claim to the throne of David: he tells him that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got poſſeſſion of without much perſonal exertion on his part, and preſſes him to loſe no time in beginning to reign. Jeſus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating ſomewhat reſpecting his own previous ſufferings, aſks Satan, why he ſhould be ſo ſolicitous for the exaltation of one, whoſe riſing was deſtined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own deſperate ſtate, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own puniſhment was equally doomed, he is not intereſted in preventing the reign of one, from whoſe apparent benevolence he might rather hope for ſome interference in his favour.—Satan ſtill purſues his former incitements; and, ſuppoſing that the ſeeming reluctance of Jeſus to be thus advanced might ariſe from his being un-

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acquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the ſummit of a high mountain, and from thence ſhows him moſt of the kingdoms of Aſia, particularly pointing out to his notice ſome extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to reſiſt the incurſions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he ſhowed him this purpoſely that he might ſee how neceſſary military exertions are to retain the poſſeſſion of kingdoms, as well as to ſubdue them at firſt; and adviſes him to conſider how impoſſible it was to maintain Judea againſt two ſuch powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how neceſſary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the ſame time he recommends, and engages to ſecure to him, that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Cæsar might attempt againſt it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and eſpecially to accompliſh, what was particularly neceſſary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and reſtoration of the ten tribes, ſtill in a ſtate of captivity. Jeſus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakneſs of the arm of fleſh, ſays, that when the time comes for aſcending his allotted throne he ſhall not be ſlack: he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Iſraelites, to whom he had always ſhowed himſelf an enemy, and declares their ſervitude to be the conſequence of their idolatry; but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps pleaſe God to recall them, and reſtore them to their liberty and native land.

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PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

SO ſpake the Son of God; and Satan ſtood
A while, as mute, confounded what to ſay,
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
At length, collecting all his ſerpent wiles,
With ſoothing words renew'd him thus accoſts.
I ſee thou know'ſt what is of uſe to know,
What beſt to ſay canſt ſay, to do canſt do;
Thy actions to thy words accord; thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due; thy heart
Contains of good, wiſe, juſt, the perfect ſhape.

Ver. 11. —— *of good, wiſe, juſt, the perfect* ſhape.] Milton, no doubt, by the word *ſhape* intended to expreſs the meaning of the Greek ἰδέα, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and ſeems rather harſh and inelegant. There are words in all languages, which cannot well be tranſlated without loſing much of their beauty, and even ſome of their meaning; of this ſort I take the word *idea* to be. Tully renders it by the word *ſpecies* with as little ſucceſs as Milton has done here by his Engliſh *ſhape*. THYER.

I ſhould rather think it expreſſed from the *perfecta forma honeſtatis*, and the *forma ipſa honeſti* of Cicero. *De Fin.* ii. 15.

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Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old
Infallible: Or wert thou sought to deeds
That might require the array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such, that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
In battle, though against thy few in arms.
These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness? Wherefore deprive
All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
The fame and glory; glory, the reward

"Habes undique expletam et *perfectam*, Torquate, *formam honestatis*, &c." De Off. i. 5. "*Formam* quidem *ipsam*, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem *honesti* vides; quæ, si oculis cerneretur, &c." And the more, because he renders *forma* by *shape* in the *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 848.

"Virtue in her *shape* how lovely." NEWTON.

Milton was also fond of this phrase. See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 848. TODD.

Ver. 15. ——— *or tongue of seers old*
Infallible:] The poet by mentioning this after *Urim* and *Thummim* seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first temple by the *prophets*. See Prideaux's *Connect.* Part i. Book iii. NEWTON.

Ver. 25. ——— *glory, the reward*] Our Saviour having withstood the allurement of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus con-

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That ſole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of moſt erected ſpirits, moſt temper'd pure
Ethereal, who all pleaſures elſe deſpiſe,
All treaſures and all gain eſteem as droſs,

necting theſe two temptations from Spenſer, who, in his ſecond Book of the *Faery Queen*, repreſenting the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his conſtancy, brings him to the houſe of riches, or *Mammon's delve* as he terms it, and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he deſcribes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called *Philotimè*. THYER.

Ver. 26. ——————— *the flame*
Of moſt erected ſpirits,] Silius Ital. vi. 332.
——————— "Fax mentis honeſtæ
"Gloria." DUNSTER.

Ver. 27. *Of moſt erected ſpirits,*] The Author here remembered Cicero; *Pro Archia.* "Trahimur omnes laudis ſtudio, et optimus quiſque maxime gloria ducitur." *De Off.* i. 8. In maximis animis ſplendidiſſimiſque ingeniis plurumque exſiſtunt honoris, imperii, potentiæ, gloriæ cupiditates." NEWTON.

Erected ſpirits is a claſſical phraſe. "Magno *animo* et *erecto* eſt, nec unquam ſuccumbit inimicis, nec fortunæ quidem." Cicero, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, 13. And Seneca, *Epiſt.* ix. "Ad hoc enim multis illi rebus opus eſt, ad illud tantum *animo ſurio, et erecto*, et deſpiciente fortunam."

It occurs likewiſe in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. i. 679.

"Mammon, the leaſt *erected ſpirit* that fell
"From Heaven." DUNSTER.

Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, ed. 1655, p. 5. "Having found in him a minde of moſt excellent compoſition, a piercing wit quite void of oſtentation, *high erected thoughts* ſeated in a heart of courteſie, &c." And compare alſo the *Lycidas* of our author, with the paſſage before us, ver. 70, &c. as noted by Mr. Warton. TODD.

Ver. 28. ——— *who all pleaſures elſe deſpiſe,*
All treaſures and all gain eſteem as droſs,] Thus

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And dignities and powers all but the higheſt?
Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the ſon
Of Macedonian Philip had ere theſe
Won Aſia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his diſpoſe; young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd
The Pontick king, and in triúmph had rode.

Spenſer, in the concluſion of his *Hymn of Heavenly Love*;

" Thenceforth all world's deſires will in thee die,
" And all earth's glory, on which men do gaze,
" *Seem dirt and droſs* in thy pure-ſighted eye."

And Milton again, in his *Verſes on Time*:

" Which is no more than what is falſe and vain,
" And merely mortal *droſs*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 31. *Thy years* &c.] Our Saviour's Temptation was ſoon after his Baptiſm; and he was baptized when he was *about thirty years of age*, Luke, iii. 23. Alexander was but twenty years old, when he began to reign; and in a few years he overturned the Perſian Empire, which was founded by Cyrus: Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age. Scipio Africanus was no more than twenty-four years old, when he was ſent Proconſul into Spain. He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine, when, being choſen Conſul before the uſual time, he transferred the war into Africa. NEWTON.

Ver. 34. *At his* diſpoſe;] Shakſpeare writes *diſpoſe* for *diſpoſal*, K. John, A. i. S. iii. " Needs muſt you lay your heart at his *diſpoſe*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. ——————— *young Pompey quell'd*
The Pontick king, and in triúmph had rode.] In this inſtance our author is not ſo exact as in the reſt; for when Pompey was ſent to command the war in Aſia againſt Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above forty, but had ſignalized himſelf by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honour of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the ſame year; and the Manilian law,

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Yet years, and to ripe years judgement mature,
Quench not the thirſt of glory, but augment.
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd
With glory, wept that he had liv'd ſo long
Inglorious: But thou yet art not too late.
To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.
Thou neither doſt perſuade me to ſeek wealth

which gave the command in Aſia to Pompey, was propoſed when Cicero was in the forty-firſt year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was miſtaken in point of time, when ſeveral of the Ancients were. Plutarch, ſpeaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his firſt over Africa, his ſecond over Europe, and this laſt over Aſia, ſays, that as for his age, thoſe who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, would not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at this time he was near forty. See Plut. *Vit. Pompeii.* NEWTON.

Ver. 41. ——— *wept that he had liv'd ſo long Inglorious:*] Alluding to a ſtory related of Julius Cæſar, that, one day reading the Hiſtory of Alexander, he ſat a great while very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt into tears; and his friends wondring at the reaſon of it, Do you not think, ſaid he, I have juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider that Alexander at my age had conquered ſo many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable? See Plutarch's *Life of Cæſar.* Others ſay, it was at the ſight of an image of Alexander the Great. See Suetonii *Jul. Cæſ.* Cap. 7. NEWTON.

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's *inglorius*, i. e. inſenſible to the charms of glory, *Georg.* ii. 485.

"Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
"Flumina amem ſylváſque *inglorius.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 44. *Thou neither doſt perſuade me* &c.] How admirably does Milton in this ſpeech expoſe the emptineſs and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only ſure

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For empire's ſake, nor empire to affect
For glory's ſake, by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praiſe, if always praiſe unmix'd?
And what the people but a herd confus'd,
A miſcellaneous rabble who extol
Things vulgar, and, well weigh'd, ſcarce worth the praiſe?

baſis, the approbation of the God of truth! There is a remarkable dignity of ſentiment runs quite through it, and I think it will be no extravagance to aſſert, that he has compriſed in this ſhort compaſs the ſubſtance and quinteſſence of a ſubject which has exerciſed the pens of the greateſt moraliſts in all ages.

THYER.

Ver. 48. *The people's praiſe*, &c.] We may compare with this and ſome of the following lines the 31ſt ſtanza of Giles Fletcher's *Chriſt's Triumph over Death:*

" Frail multitude! whoſe giddy law is liſt,
" And beſt applauſe is windy flattering,
" Moſt like the breath of which it doth conſiſt,
" No ſooner blown, but as ſoon vaniſhing,
" As much deſir'd, as little profiting,
" That makes the men that have it oft as light
" As thoſe that give it." DUNSTER.

Ver. 49. *And what the people but a herd confus'd,*
A miſcellaneous rabble who extol
Things vulgar, &c.] Theſe lines are certainly no proof of a democratick diſpoſition in our author. DUNSTER.

No. And I think it not improbable that Burke, who loved the poetry of Milton, might have borowed from this paſſage the hint of his well known expreſſion; againſt which leſs clamour would have been raiſed, if the *herd confus'd* and the *miſcellaneous rabble* of a profeſſed republican had been, as they ought to have been, remembered. TODD.

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They praiſe, and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by ſuch extoll'd,
To live upon their tongues, and be their talk,
Of whom to be diſprais'd were no ſmall praiſe?
His lot who dares be ſingularly good.
The intelligent among them and the wiſe
Are few, and glory ſcarce of few is rais'd.
This is true glory and renown, when God

Ver. 56. *Of whom to be* diſprais'd] Tickell and Fenton corruptly read, after Tonſon's editions of 1707 and 1711, "Of whom to be *deſpis'd*." The genuine reading is reſtored in Tonſon's edit. of 1747. The apparent play upon words may be countenanced, as Mr. Dunſter alſo obſerves, by Shakſpeare, *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. laſt.

"And not *diſpraiſing* whom we *prais'd*, began
"His miſtreſs' picture." TODD.

Ver. 57. *His lot who dares be ſingularly good.*] Dr. Newton conjectures that Milton might here allude to himſelf, "who *dared* to be as ſingular in his opinions and in his conduct as any man whatever."—But the language of the poet in this place is perhaps only claſſical, as it might well have been ſuggeſted by Horace, *Ep.* I. ii. 40.

——————"Sapere *aude;*
"Incipe; *vivendi recte* qui prorogat horam,
"Ruſticus expectat dum defluit amnis." DUNSTER.

Ver. 59. ——*and glory ſcarce of few is rais'd.*] "*Gloriam* latius fuſam intelligo; *conſenſum enim multorum* exigit. Quid interſit inter claritatem et gloriam dicam; gloria *multorum judiciis* conſtat, claritas bonorum." Senec. *Epiſt.* 102. DUNSTER.

Ver. 60. *This is true glory and renown,* &c.] Here is a glory that is ſolid and ſubſtantial, *expreſſa*, as Tully ſays, *non adumbrata;* and that will endure, when all the records and memorials of human pride are periſhed. CALTON.

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Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The juſt man, and divulges him through Heaven
To all his Angels, who with true applauſe
Recount his praiſes: thus he did to Job,
When, to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth,
As thou to thy reproach may'ſt well remember,
He aſk'd thee, "Haſt thou ſeen my ſervant Job?"
Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth leſs known;

Ver. 60. ——————— *when God*
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The juſt man,] "Ecce ſpectaculum dignum, ad quod reſpiciat intentus operi ſuo Deus! Ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compoſitus, utique ſi et provocavit! Non video, inquam, quid habet in terris Jupiter pulchrius, ſi convertere animum velit, quam ut ſpectet Catonem, jam partibus non ſemel fractis ſtantem, nihilominus inter ruinas publicas rectum." Seneca, *De Providentia*, 2. This celebrated paſſage of Seneca the amiably affectionate biographer of Milton applies to the principles and the afflictions of our author. Hayley, *Life of Milton*, p. 225. DUNSTER.

Ver. 62. ——— *and* divulges] *Publiſhes, makes known.* So, in *Samſon Agon.* v. 1248, as Mr. Dunſter obſerves:

"Though Fame *divulge* him father of five ſons."

And thus, in Sandys's *Paraphraſe upon Job:*

"Now was his ruine by the breath of *Fame*
"*Divulg'd* through all the Eaſt."

Milton, I obſerve, often uſes the word in this ſenſe. "No man could be found fitter than biſhop Latimer to *divulge* in his ſermon the forged accuſations &c." *Of Reform.* B. i. Again, "*Divulging* needleſs tractates," *Of Prel. Epiſcopacy.* Again, "Had any one written and *divulged* erroneous things, &c." *Areopagitica.* TODD.

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Where glory is falſe glory, attributed
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
They err, who count it glorious to ſubdue
By conqueſt far and wide, to over-run
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by aſſault: What do theſe worthies,
But rob and ſpoil, burn, ſlaughter, and enſlave

Ver. 69. *Where glory is falſe glory, attributed*
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.] True glory, Tully ſays, is the praiſe of good men, the echo of virtue: but that ape of glory, the random injudicious applauſe of the multitude, is often beſtowed upon the worſt of actions. "Eſt enim gloria ſolida quædam res et expreſſa, non adumbrata: ea eſt conſentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox benè judicantium de excellente virtute: ea virtuti reſonat tanquam imago:—illa autem, quæ ſe ejus imitatricem eſſe vult, temeraria atque inconſiderata, et plerumque peccatorum vitiorúmque laudatrix, fama popularis, ſimulatione honeſtatis formam ejus pulcritudinémque corrumpit. Qua cæcitate homines, cum quædam etiam præclara cuperent, eáque neſcirent, nec ubi nec qualia eſſent, funditus alii everterunt ſuas civitates, alii ipſi occiderunt." *Tuſc. Diſp.* iii. 2. When Tully wrote his Tuſculan Diſputations, Julius Cæſar had overturned the conſtitution of his country, and was then in the height of his power; and Pompey had loſt his life in the ſame purſuit of glory. CALTON.

Ver. 71. *They err, who count it glorious to ſubdue*
By conqueſt far and wide, &c.] Here might be an alluſion intended to LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, who at this time began to diſturb Europe, and whoſe vanity and ambition were gratified by titles, ſuch as are here mentioned, from his numerous paraſites. We may here compare *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. xi. 691, &c. And again, ver. 789, &c. of the ſame Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 74. ——————— *what do theſe worthies,*
But rob *and ſpoil*, &c. &c.] Thus Drummond, in his *Shadow of the Judgment;*

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Peaceable nations, neighbouring, or remote,
Made captive, yet deſerving freedom more
Than thoſe their conquerours, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin whereſoe'er they rove,
And all the flouriſhing works of peace deſtroy; so
Then ſwell with pride, and muſt be titled Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
Worſhipt with temple, prieſt, and ſacrifice?

" All live on earth by *ſpoil:*
" Who moſt can ravage, *rob*, ranſack, blaſpheme,
" Is held moſt virtuous, hath a *worthy*'s name."

Milton's deſcription of the ravages of conquerours may have been copied from ſome of the accounts of the barbarous nations that invaded Rome. Ovid deſcribes the Getæ thus *ſpoiling, robbing, ſlaying, enſlaving*, and *burning*, Triſt. III. *El.* x. 55, &c.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 78. ——————— *who leave behind*
Nothing but ruin] Thus, *Joel*, ii. 3. " The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and *behind them a deſolate wilderneſs.*" And Gray, in his *Bard*, has a ſimilar deſcription finely expreſſed, where he ſpeaks of the conqueſts of Edward the Black Prince in France.

——— " What terrours round him wait!
" Amazement in his van, with Flight combin'd,
" And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 81. ——————— *and muſt be titled Gods,*
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,] The ſecond Antiochus king of Syria was called Antiochus Θεὸς, or *the God:* and the learned author De Epoch. Syro. Macedonum, p. 109, ſpeaks of a coin of Epiphanes inſcribed Θεοῦ Ἐπιφάνους. The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, the titles of Εὐεργέται, *Benefactors*, and Σωτῆρες, *Deliverers.*

CALTON.

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One is the ſon of Jove, of Mars the other;
Till conquerour Death diſcover them ſcarce men,
Rolling in brutiſh vices, and deform'd,
Violent or ſhameful death their due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attain'd,
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wiſdom eminent,
By patience, temperance: I mention ſtill
Him, whom thy wrongs, with ſaintly patience borne,

Ver. 84. *One is the ſon of Jove, of Mars the other;*] Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other, who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his over-grown tyranny was at laſt deſtroyed by his own ſenate. NEWTON.

Ver. 86. Rolling *in* brutiſh vices, *and deform'd,*] Thus, in *Comus*, ver. 77. "To *roll* with pleaſure *in a ſenſual ſtye.*" *To roll in vice* is a mode of expreſſion frequently uſed by Cicero. "In domeſticis eſt germanitatis *ſtupris volutatis.*" Oratio *De Haruſpic. Reſponſ.* 20. "Quis umquam nepos tam libere eſt cum ſcortis, quam hic cum ſororibus *volutatus* ?" Ibid. 27.—— "cum omnes *in omni genere et ſcelerum et flagitiorum volutentur.*" Epiſt. Ad. Familiar. ix. 3. "Non jusjurandum reliquiſti ? non amicos prodidiſti ? non parenti manus intuliſti ? non denique *in omni dedecore volutatus es* ?" Ad Herenn. iv. 19. DUNSTER.

Milton's expreſſion bears a ſtronger reſemblance to the following paſſage in G. Wither's *Speculum*, or *Conſidering-Glaſs*, 1660, p. 69.

—— "without controul
"They might in *brutiſh luſts* at pleaſure *roul.*" TODD.

Ver. 92. *By patience, temperance:*] In alluſion to St. Peter's combination, II *Pet.* i. 6. "Add to knowledge temperance, and to *temperance patience.*" TODD.

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Made famous in a land and times obſcure;
Who names not now with honour patient Job?
Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable?)
By what he taught, and ſuffer'd for ſo doing,
For truth's ſake ſuffering death, unjuſt, lives now
Equal in fame to proudeſt conquerours.
Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught ſuffer'd; if young African for fame
His waſted country freed from Punick rage;
The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at leaſt,
And loſes, though but verbal, his reward.
Shall I ſeek glory then, as vain men ſeek,
Oft not deſerv'd? I ſeek not mine, but his
Who ſent me; and thereby witneſs whence I am.

Ver. 96. *Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable?)*
By what he taught, and ſuffer'd for ſo doing,
For truth's ſake ſuffering death, unjuſt, lives now
Equal in fame to proudeſt conquerours.] Milton here does not ſcruple, with Eraſmus, to place Socrates in the foremoſt rank of Saints; an opinion more amiable at leaſt, and agreeable to that ſpirit of love which breathes in the Goſpel, than the ſevere orthodoxy of thoſe rigid textuaries, who are unwilling to allow ſalvation to the moral virtues of the Heathen. THYER.

Milton's fine and juſt encomium may make ample amends to the old Athenian for the illiberal abuſe, which Boileau has thought fit to throw on him in his twelfth Satire, ver. 150.
JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 101. ——— *if young African for fame*
His waſted country freed from Punick rage;] This ſhows plainly that he had ſpoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus; for he only can be ſaid with propriety to have *freed his waſted country from Punick rage*, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the ſecond Punick war. NEWTON.

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To whom the Tempter murmuring thus replied.
Think not so slight of glory; therein least
Resembling thy great Father: He seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; nor content in Heaven,
By all his Angels glorified, requires
Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption;
Above all sacrifice, or hallow'd gift,
Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd;
From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts.
To whom our Saviour fervently replied.
And reason; since his Word all things produc'd,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,

Ver. 109. *Think not so slight of glory;*] There is nothing throughout the whole poem more expressive of the true character of the Tempter than this reply. There is in it all the real falsehood of *the father of lies*, and the glozing subtlety of an insidious deceiver. The argument is false and unsound, and yet it is veiled over with a certain plausible air of truth. The poet has also, by introducing this, furnished himself with an opportunity of explaining that great question in divinity, why God created the world, and what is meant by that glory which he expects from his creatures. This may be no improper place to observe to the reader the author's great art in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the Christian theology and morality. THYER.

Ver. 118. *Promiscuous from all nations,*] The poet puts here into the mouth of the Devil the absurd notions of the apologists for Paganism. See Themistius, *Orat.* xii. *de Relig. Valent. Imp.* p. 160. WARBURTON.

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But to ſhow forth his goodneſs, and impart
His good communicable to every ſoul
Freely; of whom what could he leſs expect
Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
The ſlighteſt, eaſieſt, readieſt recompence
From them who could return him nothing elſe,
And, not returning that, would likelieſt render
Contempt inſtead, diſhonour, obloquy?
Hard recompence, unſuitable return
For ſo much good, ſo much beneficence!
But why ſhould Man ſeek glory, who of his own
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs,
But condemnation, ignominy, and ſhame?
Who, for ſo many benefits receiv'd,
Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and falſe,

Ver. 128. *The ſlighteſt, eaſieſt, readieſt recompence*] The ſame ſentiment occurs in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iv. 46.

" What could be leſs than to afford him praiſe,
" The eaſieſt recompence, and pay him thanks?
" How due!" NEWTON.

Ver. 130. *And, not returning* that,] Here again Tickell and Fenton follow the corrupt reading of Tonſon's edit. of 1707 and 1711, " And, not returning *what*," which, as Dr. Newton obſerves, ſpoils the ſenſe; and which he and Mr. Thyer corrected in their copies before they had ſeen the firſt edition. But the genuine reading had been before reſtored in Tonſon's edit. of 1747, 12mo. TODD.

Ver. 138. —— *recreant*] See Spenſer, *Faerie Queen*, ii. vi. 28. " Thou *recreant* knight," to which Mr. Dunſter refers; where Mr. Warton has obſerved that " *recreant knight*" is a term of romance; and cites the following paſſage from the *Morte d'Arthur*. " Then ſaid the knight to the king, thou art in my daunger whether me lyſt to ſave thee or to ſley thee; and, but

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And ſo of all true good himſelf deſpoil'd;
Yet, ſacrilegious, to himſelf would take
That which to God alone of right belongs:
Yet ſo much bounty is in God, ſuch grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himſelf to glory will advance.
So ſpake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to anſwer, but ſtood ſtruck
With guilt of his own ſin; for he himſelf,
Inſatiable of glory, had loſt all;
Yet of another plea bethought him ſoon.
Of glory, as thou wilt, ſaid he, ſo deem;
Worth or not worth the ſeeking, let it paſs.

thou yield thee as overcome and *recreant*, thou ſhalt dye. As for death, ſaid king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh; but as to yield me to thee as *recreant*, &c." The phraſe means not only one who yields himſelf to his enemy in ſingle combat, but a coward and a traitor. See Du Cange, in Voc. *Recredentia* and *Recreditus*. TODD.

Ver. 138. ——————— ingrate *and falſe*,] Referring perhaps to his *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 97.

——————— " *Ingrate*, he had of me
" All he could have." TODD.

Ver. 151. *Worth or not worth* the *ſeeking*,] In all the editions which I have ſeen, except the firſt, it is printed " Worth or not worth *their* ſeeking;" but, not knowing to whom *their* could refer, I imagined it ſhould be " Worth or not worth *thy* ſeeking:" but the firſt edition exhibits this reading, " Worth or not worth *the* ſeeking," as Mr. Sympſon propoſed to read by conjecture. NEWTON.

This genuine reading is reſtored in Tonſon's edition of 1747, in 12mo. The correctneſs of this edition makes it very valuable. TODD.

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But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
To ſit upon thy father David's throne,
By mother's ſide thy father; though thy right
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Eaſily from poſſeſſion won with arms:
Judæa now and all the Promis'd Land,
Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,
Obeys Tiberius; nor is always rul'd
With temperate ſway; oft have they violated
The temple, oft the law, with foul affronts,
Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus: And think'ſt thou to regain
Thy right, by ſitting ſtill, or thus retiring?

Ver. 158. *Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,*] Judæa was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Auguſtus, by Quirinius, or Cyrenius, then governor of Syria; and Coponius, a Roman of the equeſtrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator. NEWTON.

Ver. 159. ——— *nor is always rul'd*
With temperate ſway;] The Roman government indeed was not always the moſt temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, and, it appears from hiſtory, was a moſt corrupt and flagitious governour. See particularly Philo, *de Legatione ad Caium.* NEWTON.

And Joſephus ſpeaks of the murders committed on the Jews by Pilate, *Antiq. Jud.* L. xviii. C. v. DUNSTER.

Ver. 160. ——— *oft have they violated*
The temple, &c.] Pompey, with ſeveral of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but alſo penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-prieſt alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a ſimilar profanation. See II *Maccab.* C. v.
NEWTON.

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So did not Maccabeus: he indeed 165
Retir'd unto the deſart, but with arms;
And o'er a mighty king ſo oft prevail'd,
That by ſtrong hand his family obtain'd,
Though prieſts, the crown, and David's throne uſurp'd,
With Modin and her ſuburbs once content. 170
If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
And duty; zeal and duty are not ſlow,
But on occaſion's forelock watchful wait:

Ver. 165. *So did not Maccabeus:* &c.] The Tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and now he would infer, that Jeſus was to blame for not vindicating his country againſt the one, as *Judas Maccabeus* had done againſt the other. He fled indeed into the wilderneſs from the perſecutions of Antiochus, but there he took up arms againſt him, and obtained ſo many victories over his forces, that he recovered the city and ſanctuary out of their hands, and his family was in his brother Jonathan advanced to the high prieſthood, and in his brother Simon to the principality, and ſo they continued for ſeveral deſcents ſovereign pontiffs and ſovereign princes of the Jewiſh nation till the time of Herod the Great: though their father Mattathias, (the ſon of John, the ſon of Simon, the ſon of Aſmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Aſmoneans,) was no more than a prieſt of the courſe of Joarib, and dwelt at Modin, which is famous for nothing ſo much as being the country of the Maccabees. See I *Maccab.* Joſephus, Prideaux, &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 171. *If* kingdom *move thee not,*] *Kingdom* here, like *regnum* in Latin, ſignifies *kingly ſtate*, the *circumſtances of regal power;* or, as our author in his political works writes, *kingſhip.*

DUNSTER.

Ver. 173. *But on occaſion's forelock watchful wait:*] Spenſer perſonifies Occaſion, as an old hag, with a grey *forelock*, *Faer. Qu.* ii. iv. 4. Spenſer likewiſe, *Sonnet* 70, gives Time the ſame

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They themſelves rather are occaſion beſt;
Zeal of thy father's houſe, duty to free
Thy country from her Heathen ſervitude.
So ſhalt thou beſt fulfil, beſt verify
The Prophets old, who ſung thy endleſs reign;
The happier reign, the ſooner it begins:
Reign then; what canſt thou better do the while?
To whom our Saviour anſwer thus return'd.
All things are beſt fulfill'd in their due time;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath ſaid.
If of my reign prophetick Writ hath told,
That it ſhall never end, ſo, when begin,
The Father in his purpoſe hath decreed;
He, in whoſe hand all times and ſeaſons roll.
What if he hath decreed that I ſhall firſt
Be tried in humble ſtate, and things adverſe,

forelock. Shakſpeare, in his *Othello*, has "To take the ſafeſt *occaſion by the front.*" The Greek and Latin poets alſo deſcribe occaſion, i. e. *time* or *opportunity*, "with a forelock."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 175. *Zeal of thy father's houſe,*] *Pſalm* lxix. 9. "For the *zeal of thine houſe* hath eaten me up;" which paſſage is applied in the New Teſtament (*John*, ii. 17.) to the zeal by our Lord for the honour of his Father's houſe, when he drove the buyers and ſellers out of the temple. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. *And time there is for all things, Truth hath ſaid.*] "To every thing there is a ſeaſon, and a time to every purpoſe under the Heaven." *Eccleſ.* iii. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 187. *He, in whoſe hand* all times and ſeaſons *roll.*] "It is not for you to know the *times and the ſeaſons*, which the Father hath put in his own power." *Acts* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 189. *Be* tried *in humble ſtate, and* things adverſe,] Sil. Ital. iv. 605. "*Explorant adverſa* viros." DUNSTER.

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By tribulations, injuries, inſults,
Contempts, and ſcorns, and ſnares, and violence,
Suffering, abſtaining, quietly expecting,
Without diſtruſt or doubt, that he may know
What I can ſuffer, how obey? Who beſt
Can ſuffer, beſt can do; beſt reign, who firſt
Well hath obey'd; juſt trial, ere I merit
My exaltation without change or end.
But what concerns it thee, when I begin
My everlaſting kingdom? Why art thou
Solicitous? What moves thy inquiſition?
Know'ſt thou not that my riſing is thy fall,
And my promotion will be thy deſtruction?
To whom the Tempter, inly rack'd, replied.
Let that come when it comes; all hope is loſt
Of my reception into grace: what worſe?
For where no hope is left, is left no fear:

Ver. 195. ——————— *beſt reign, who firſt*
Well hath obey'd;] Here probably the author remembered Cicero. "Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando neceſſe eſt; et qui modeſte paret, videtur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus eſſe." *De Leg.* iii. 2. The ſame ſentiment occurs in Ariſtotle, *Polit.* iii. 4, vii. 14; and in Plato, *De Leg.* vi. as Urſinus and Davies have noted. NEWTON.

Ver. 201. *Know'ſt thou not that my riſing is thy fall,*] Alluding to the riſing and ſetting of oppoſite ſtars. Milton, in the firſt Book of this Poem, terms our Lord "our Morning-ſtar, then in his riſe." DUNSTER.

Ver. 206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear:*] Milton here, and in ſome of the following verſes, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine ſoliloquy, in the beginning of the fourth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt;*

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If there be worſe, the expectation more
Of worſe torments me than the feeling can.
I would be at the worſt: worſt is my port,
My harbour, and my ultimate repoſe:
The end I would attain, my final good.
My errour was my errour, and my crime
My crime; whatever, for itſelf condemn'd;
And will alike be puniſh'd, whether thou
Reign, or reign not; though to that gentle brow
Willingly could I fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aſpéct and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil ſtate,
Would ſtand between me and thy Father's ire,

" So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear!
" Farewell remorſe! All good to me is loſt:
" Evil, be thou my good!" THYER.

Ver. 217. *From that placid* aſpéct] Spenſer, Shakſpeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote *aſpéct* thus accented on the ſecond ſyllable; as Milton has likewiſe always done in his *Paradiſe Loſt*. I cannot forbear citing one inſtance on account of the exquiſite beauty of the paſſage. It is a ſimilar deſcription of the ſame Divine Perſon, who had juſt been offering himſelf a ranſom for man, B. iii. 266.

" His words here ended, but his *meek aſpéct*
" Silent yet ſpake, and breath'd immortal love
" To mortal man."

And Vida makes Mary, in her Lamentation at the foot of the croſs, particularly refer to our Lord's *placid*, or *meek*, aſpect, *Chriſt*. v. 860.

" Heu! quem te, nate, aſpicio? Tuane ille *ſerena*
" *Luce magis facies aſpectu grata*?" DUNSTER.

Ver. 219. *Would* ſtand between me *and* thy Father's ire,] Milton in his Ode *On the death of a fair infant*, has a ſimilar

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(Whoſe ire I dread more than the fire of Hell,)
A ſhelter, and a kind of ſhading cool
Interpoſition, as a ſummer's cloud.
If I then to the worſt that can be haſte,
Why move thy feet ſo ſlow to what is beſt,
Happieſt, both to thyſelf and all the world,
That thou, who worthieſt art, ſhould'ſt be their king?
Perhaps thou linger'ſt, in deep thoughts detain'd
Of the enterpriſe ſo hazardous and high;
No wonder; for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in man be found,
Or human nature can receive, conſider,
Thy life hath yet been private, moſt part ſpent
At home, ſcarce view'd the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jeruſalem, few days'

expreſſion, ſt. x. "*To* ſtand 'twixt us and *our deſerved ſmart?*" DUNSTER.

In both inſtances the poet alludes to the Sacred Writings. See *Numb.* xvi. 48, *Pſal.* cvi. 23. *Wiſdom of Sol.* xviii. 23. TODD.

Ver. 221. ——— *a kind of ſhading cool*
Interpoſition, as a ſummer's cloud.] In the 25th chapter of Iſaiah, as Mr. Dunſter alſo obſerves, the prophet, addreſſing God, terms him "a ſtrength to the poor, a ſtrength to the needy in his diſtreſs, a refuge from the ſtorm, *a ſhadow from the heat.*" And, in the next verſe, the interpoſition of God is illuſtrated by the ſimile which the poet uſes. "Thou ſhalt bring down the noiſe of ſtrangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat *with the ſhadow of a cloud.*" TODD.

Ver. 234. *And once a year Jeruſalem,*] At the feaſt of the paſſover. *Luke,* ii. 41. NEWTON.

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Short ſojourn; and what thence could'ſt thou
obſerve?
The world thou haſt not ſeen, much leſs her glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,
Beſt ſchool of beſt experience, quickeſt inſight
In all things that to greateſt actions lead.
The wiſeſt, unexperienc'd, will be ever
Timorous and loth, with novice modeſty,
(As he who, ſeeking aſſes, found a kingdom,)
Irreſolute, unhardy, unadventurous:
But I will bring thee where thou ſoon ſhalt quit
Thoſe rudiments, and ſee before thine eyes
The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and ſtate;
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyſelf ſo apt, in regal arts,
And regal myſteries; that thou may'ſt know
How beſt their oppoſition to withſtand.
With that, (ſuch power was given him then,) he took
The Son of God up to a mountain high.

Ver. 238. ——————— *quickeſt* inſight] In all the editions, and indeed in Milton's own, it is printed "quickeſt *in ſight:*" but we cannot but think it an errour of the writer or printer, and prefer the emendation which Mr. Theobald, Mr. Meadowcourt, and Mr. Thyer, have, unknown to each other, propoſed, viz. "quickeſt *inſight.*" NEWTON.

Tonſon's edition of 1747 had already made the emendation of "quickeſt *inſight.*" TODD.

Ver. 242. (*As he who, ſeeking aſſes, found a kingdom,*)] Saul. See 1 *Sam.* ix. 20, 21. NEWTON.

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It was a mountain at whoſe verdant feet
A ſpacious plain, outſtretch'd in circuit wide,
Lay pleaſant; from his ſide two rivers flow'd,
The one winding, the other ſtraight, and left between
Fair champain with leſs rivers intervein'd,
Then meeting join'd their tribute to the ſea:

Ver. 253. *It was a mountain* &c.] The length of Mr. Dunſter's important note on this paſſage, obliges me to transfer it to the end of the book. TODD.

Ver. 256. *The one winding, the other ſtraight,*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Dunſter obſerve, that Strabo deſcribes the Euphrates paſſing through the country with a *winding ſtream*, ΣΚΟΛΙΩ ΤΩ ΡΕΙΘΡΩ, lib. xi. p. 521; and hence it is called "*vagus* Euphrates" by Statius, and *flexuoſus* by Martianus Capella. With the ſame accuracy the Tigris is here termed *ſtraight*, being deſcribed as ſwift in its courſe, as an arrow: "Unde concitatur à celeritate, *Tigris* incipit vocari: *Ita appellant* Medi *ſagittam*," Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. vi. c. 27. And Dionyſius calls it ποταμὸν ὠκιστος ἁπάντων, *Perieg.* v. 804. TODD.

Ver. 257. ——— *with leſs rivers* intervein'd,] Quintus Curtius, having ſpoken of the great fertility of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds, "Cauſa fertilitatis eſt humor, qui ex utroque amne, manat, toto fere ſolo propter *venas aquarum* reſudante." L. v. C. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 258. *Then meeting join'd their tribute to the ſea:*] Strabo deſcribes theſe two rivers, after having encircled Meſopotamia, joining their ſtreams near Babylon, and flowing into the Perſian Gulph, L. xi. p. 521. DUNSTER.

Milton here adorns his geographical exactneſs with a phraſe from his beloved poetry, *Gier. Lib.* c. xv. ſt. 16.

"Poi Damiata ſcopre: e come *porte*
"*Al mar tributo* di celeſti humori
"Per ſette il Nilo ſue famoſe porte." TODD.

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Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;
With herds the paſtures throng'd, with flocks the hills;
Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might ſeem

Ver. 259. *Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;*] See *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. xii. 18, and Ovid, *Amor.* II. xvi. 19. Dr. Newton, conceiving this deſcription of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Meſopotamia, cites the following paſſage from Dionyſius, as copied here by Milton. The geographical poet had been ſpeaking of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Οὐ μὲν τοι κείνης γε νομὸς ὠνόσσατο βότης,
Οὐδ' ὅσις σύριγγι κεχώνυχα Πᾶνα γεραίρων,
Μήλοις ἀργαύλοισιν ἰφίσπιλαι· ἡδὺ μὲν ὕλην
Παντοίην φυτοεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἀθερίσσατο κάρπων.

Quintus Curtius likewiſe notices the peculiar fertility of the "fair champain," between the two rivers. "Inter Tigrim et Euphratem jacentia tam uberi et pingui ſolo ſunt, ut a paſtu repelli pecora dicantur, ne ſatietas perimat," L. v. 1. And Strabo terms Meſopotamia εὔβοτος χώρα, καὶ ἐυειρὴς, *a country abounding in paſtures and rich vegetation*, L. xvi. p. 747. But the greater part of this "large proſpect," at leaſt of thoſe countries which lay eaſt of Meſopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this deſcription of fertility, either conſidered figurative, or literal; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to ſhow. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Huge* cities *and high*-tower'd,] So alſo in the *Allegro*, v. 117. "*Tower'd cities* pleaſe us then." *Turritæ urbes* is very common amongſt the Latin poets. THYER.

Εὔπυργος πόλις is no leſs common with the Greek authors. Thus Heſiod, *Scut. Herc.* v. 270.

——— Παρὰ δ' ΕΥΠΥΡΓΟΣ πόλις ἀνδρῶν.

Whence, *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 640.

"*Cities of men*, with *lofty gates* and *towers*."

Virgil has "*turrigeræque* urbes," *Æn.* x. 253; and Ovid "*turritis* mœnibus," *Amor.* III. viii. 48, and "*turriti* muri,"

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The feats of mightieſt monarchs; and ſo large
The proſpect was, that here and there was room
For barren deſart, fountainleſs and dry.
To this high mountain top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we ſpeeded, and o'er hill and dale,
Foreſt and field and flood, temples and towers,
Cut ſhorter many a league; here thou behold'ſt
Aſſyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,

Epiſt. ex Pont. III. vi. 40. But I do not know where to point out the exact epithet *turritæ* as joined with *urbes*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 267. ——— *o'er* hill *and* dale, &c.] Milton, for the moſt part, is fond of the ſingular number in combination. He does not ſay *hills* and *dales*, &c. On this account I reject Meadowcourt's alteration of a paſſage in *Samſon Agoniſtes*, ver. 146.

——— " on his ſhoulders bore
" The gates of Azza, *poſt*, and maſſy bar:"

He propoſes *poſts*, becauſe it is ſaid that Samſon " took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two *poſts*, &c." Judg. xvi. 3. For the ſame reaſon I diſapprove Upton's propoſed reading of "*ſeas* to *ſhores*," Samſ. Agon. ver. 962. See his notes on Spenſer, p. 609. col. 2. To ſay nothing of the beauty of the phraſe being varied from that in the preceding line, it may be moreover obſerved that, in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, we have "*ſea* without *ſhore*." On the ſame principle, at leaſt on the principle of Milton's preference of ſingulars where others might perhaps have uſed plurals, Bentley is wrong when, inſtead of " flowers of all *hue*," he would read *hues*, Par. L. B. iv. 256. Innumerable inſtances might be produced in ſupport of this reaſoning.
T. WARTON.

Ver. 269. ——— *here thou behold'ſt*
Aſſyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,] The ſituation of Mount Niphates, it has been already obſerved, was particularly adapted for this view. The poet here traces ac-

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Araxes and the Caſpian lake; thence on
As far as Indus eaſt, Euphrates weſt,
And oft beyond: to ſouth the Perſian bay,
And, inacceſſible, the Arabian drouth:

curately the bounds of the Aſſyrian empire in its greateſt extent; *the river Araxes and the Caſpian Lake* to the north; *the river Indus* to the eaſt; *the river Euphrates* to the weſt, and *oft beyond* as far as the Mediterranean; and *the Perſian Bay* and *the Deſarts of Arabia* to the ſouth. DUNSTER.

Ver. 274. —— *inacceſſible,*] Solinus deſcribes in a ſimilar manner the moſt deſart parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries of the province of Cyrene, he ſays, "A tergo barbarorum variæ nationes, et *ſolitudo inacceſſa.*" C. 30. DUNSTER.

Ibid. —————— *the Arabian drouth:*] This figure of ſpeech is equally bold and of fine effect. We might ſuppoſe it ſuggeſted by Virgil's "Hinc *deſerta ſiti regio.*" Æn. iv. 42. Or by Lucan's "calidas *Libyæ ſitientis* arenas." Or ſtill more by a deſcription of the wilderneſs of Barca in Silius Italicus, who terms it "Barce *ſitientibus arida venis.*" But, by adopting the reading of the elder editions of Silius Italicus, we find the very phraſe in a paſſage of that poet, xiv. 74.

"Hic, contra *Libycámque ſitim* Cauróſque furentes,
"Cernit devexas Lilybæon nobile Chelas."

I cannot forbear inſerting here a citation from a poet of our own country, contemporary with Milton, where a deſcription of the "ſandy deſart" is given in the ſame bold ſtyle. I cite the paſſage more at large than is neceſſary, from an opinion that the whole of it muſt be acceptable to the reader of taſte. It is taken from the *Addreſs to the Deity*, which concludes the poems of *George Sandys*, printed in 1638, under the title of *A Paraphraſe on divine Poems.*

"O, who hath taſted of thy clemency
"In greater meaſure, or more oft than I?
"My grateful verſe thy goodneſs ſhall diſplay,
"O thou that went'ſt along in all my way,
"To where the morning with perfumed wings

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Here Nineveh, of length within her wall 275
Several days journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that firſt golden monarchy the ſeat,

" From the high mountains of Panchæa ſprings;
" To that new-found-out world, where ſober night
" Takes from the Antipodes her ſilent flight;
" To thoſe dark ſeas, where horrid winter reigns
" And binds the ſtubborn floods in icy chains;
" To Libyan waſtes, *whoſe thirſt no ſhowers aſſuage*,
" And where ſwoln Nilus cools the lion's rage."

Sandys was the tranſlator of Ovid. Part of this volume of poems conſiſts of a *Paraphraſe of the Pſalms*; which Mr. Warton juſtly terms admirable. There is alſo a *Paraphraſe of the Book of Job*, in ſo maſterly a ſtyle, that it may be well doubted if any poet of the ſucceeding century has ſurpaſſed it in a ſimilar attempt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Here Nineveh*, &c.] This city was ſituated on the Tigris; *of length, i. e.* of circuit, *within her wall ſeveral days journey*; according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. its circuit was ſixty of our miles, and in Jonah, ii. 3. it is ſaid to be *an exceeding great city of three days journey*, twenty miles being the common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveller: *built by Ninus old*, after whom the city is ſaid to be called *Nineveh; of that firſt golden monarchy the ſeat*, a capital city of the Aſſyrian empire, which the poet ſtiles *golden monarchy*, probably in alluſion to the *golden head* of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four empires; *and ſeat of Salmanaſſar*, who in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Aſſyria ſeven hundred and twenty-one years before Chriſt, ſo that it might now be properly called *a long captivity*. NEWTON.

Ver. 277. —— *that firſt* golden *monarchy*] *Golden* is here generally deſcriptive of the ſplendour of monarchy. It may refer to what is ſaid in hiſtory of the magnificence of the kings of Perſia, their *golden* palaces, *golden* thrones, *golden* beds, &c. See *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 4. Æſchylus gives to Babylon the epithet

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And ſeat of Salmanaſſar, whoſe ſucceſs
Iſrael in long captivity ſtill mourns;
There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David's houſe
Led captive, and Jeruſalem laid waſte,
Till Cyrus ſet them free; Perſepolis,
His city, there thou ſeeſt, and Bactra there;

Πολυχρυσος, *Perſ.* 59. *Golden* might alſo have a political reference to Milton's apprehenſions of the great expences of monarchy; with reſpect to which, in juſtifying his republican principles, he had ſaid that "the trappings of a monarchy would ſet up an ordinary commonwealth." DUNSTER.

Ver. 280. *There Babylon*, &c.] As Nineveh was ſituated on the river Tigris, ſo was Babylon on the Euphrates; *the wonder of all tongues*, for it is reckoned among the ſeven wonders of the world; *as ancient* as Nineveh, for ſome ſay it was built by Belus, and others by Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife, of Ninus, who built Nineveh; *but rebuilt by him*, i. e. whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautified, and made one of the wonders of the world by Nebuchadnezzar, (*Is not this great Babylon that I have built*, &c. Dan. iv. 30;) *who twice Judah led captive*, in the reign of Jehoiakim, 2 Kings, xxiv. and eleven years after in the reign of Zedekiah, *and laid waſte Jeruſalem*, 2 Kings, xxv.; in which deſolate condition it lay many years, *till Cyrus ſet them free*, and reſtored the Jews to their country again. *Ezra*, i. and ii.
NEWTON.

Ver. 284. ——————— *Perſepolis*,
His city, &c.] The city of Cyrus; if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Perſian empire; and *Bactra* there, the chief city of Bactriana a province of Perſia, famous for its fruitfulneſs; mentioned by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 136. NEWTON.

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Ecbatana her ſtructure vaſt there ſhows,
And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
There Suſa by Choaſpes, amber ſtream,
The drink of none but kings; of later fame,

Ver. 286. *Ecbatana her ſtructure vaſt there ſhows,*] Ancient hiſtorians ſpeak of *Ecbatana*, the metropolis of Media, as a very large city. Herodotus compares it to Athens, L. i. C. 98; Strabo calls it a great city, L. ii: and Polybius, L. 10. ſays it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. NEWTON.

Ver. 288. —— *Suſa by Choaſpes,*] Suſa, the Shuſhan of the Holy Scriptures, and the royal ſeat of the kings of Perſia, who reſided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the ſummer, was ſituated on the river *Choaſpes*, or Eulœus, or Ulai as it is called in Daniel; or rather on the confluence of theſe two rivers, which meeting at Suſa form one great river, ſometimes called by one name, and ſometimes by the other. NEWTON.

Ver. 289. *The drink of none but kings;*] If we examine it as an hiſtorical problem, whether the kings of Perſia alone drank of the river *Choaſpes*, we ſhall find great reaſon to determine in the negative. We have for that opinion the ſilence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any ſuch cuſtom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Auſonius, Maximus Tyrius, Ariſtides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionyſius Periegetes, and Euſtathius, have mentioned *Choaſpes*, (or *Eulæus*), as the drink of the kings of Perſia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικον ὑδωρ *regia lympha*, but have not ſaid that they alone drank of it. I ſay *Choaſpes* or *Eulæus*, becauſe ſome make them the ſame, and others counted them different rivers. The ſilence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, becauſe he is ſo particular in his account of the Perſian affairs; and, next to his, the ſilence of Pliny, who had read ſo many authors, is conſiderable. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative ſhould be proved any other way than from the ſilence of writers, yet ſo it happens that Ælian, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that the water of

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Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, 290

Choaſpes might be drunk by the ſubjects of the kings of Perſia. Τότε ἄλλα ἐφόδια εἴπερ τῷ Ξέρξῃ πολυτελείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας πεπληρωμένα, ᾗ ὧν καὶ ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χοάσπου. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἴν τινι ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ ἐδίψησεν, ἐδέησε τῆς θεραπείας ἡκούσης, ἐκηρύχθη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, εἴ τις ἔχει ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς Χοάσπου, ἵνα δῷ βασιλεῖ πιεῖν. Καὶ εὑρέθη τις βραχὺ καὶ ζεσπὸν ἔχων. Ἔπιεν ὧν τοῦτο ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ εὐεργέτην τὸν δόντα ἐνόμισεν, ὅτι ἂν ἀπώλλυτο τῇ δίψῃ, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο εὑρέθη. *In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which ſerved only for pomp and oſtentation; there was alſo the water of* Choaſpes. *The army being oppreſſed with thirſt in a deſart place, and the carriages not being yet come up, it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of* Choaſpes, *he ſhould give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not ſweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, becauſe he had periſhed with thirſt, if that little had not been found.* Var. Hiſt. xii. 40. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Perſian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find it in Athenæus: Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐν Πέρσαις φήσιν εἶναι καὶ χρυσῆν καλουμένην ὕδωρ· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λιβάδας ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ μηδένα πιεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἢ μόνον βασιλέα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτῆς τῶν παίδων· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐάν τις πίῃ, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. *Agathocles ſays that there is in Perſia a water called* golden; *that it conſiſts of ſeventy ſtreams, that none drink of it except the king and his eldeſt ſon, and that if any other perſon does, death is the puniſhment.* It does not however appear, that the *golden water* and *Choaſpes* were the ſame. Euſtathius, having tranſcribed this paſſage from Agathocles, adds: Ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἴσως καὶ τὸ Χοάσπειον ὕδωρ, ὅπερ ἔπινε στρατευόμενος ὁ Πέρσης βασιλεύς, τοιαύτην ἐπιτιμίαν κεῖρα ἐφειλκυσμένον.—*Quære, whether the water of* Choaſpes, *which the Perſian king drank in his expeditions, was forbidden to all others under the ſame penalty.* Euſtathius in Homer. Iliad. Υ, p. 1301. Ed. Baſil. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that none beſides the king might drink of that water of *Choaſpes*, which was boiled and barreled up for his uſe in his military expeditions. Solinus indeed, who is a frivolous writer, ſays "*Choaſpes* ita dulcis eſt, ut Perſici reges quamdiu intra ripas Perſidis fluit ſolis ſibi ex

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The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there

eo pocula vindicarint." Milton therefore, considered as a poet, with whose purpose the fabulous suited best, is by no means to be blamed for what he has advanced; as even the authority of Solinus is sufficient to justify. JORTIN.

All Jortin's proofs, and many more, are to be seen in Brissonius *De Principat. Pers.* L. i. pp. 59. seq. & 93. edit. Commelin, 1595, 8vo. But Brissonius has omitted a passage relating to the river Choaspes in Lucian's *Necyomantis*, by which it appears that its waters were highly esteemed for lustration, a circumstance perhaps not mentioned by any other ancient writer: Ποτὸν δὲ γαλὰ καὶ μελίχρατον καὶ τὸ τῦ ΧΟΑΣΠΟΥ ὕδωρ, *Necyom.* Opp. Lucian ed. Reitz. vol. i. p. 465. This was on account of its sweetness and clearness; for which reason also it was reserved to be drunk by the Persian monarch. See Hill's refutation of the mistakes of Dionysius Periegetes, and his commentator Eustathius, about *Choaspes*, Comment. ad Dionys. p. 263, edit. *Dionys.* Lond. 1688, 8vo. Perhaps Milton might have caught this tradition about Choaspes from Heylin, whose geography he has evidently followed in other parts of this survey, *Cosmograph.* Lib. iii. "Eulæus, [another name for Choaspes,] the chief river of Susiana, emptying itself into Sinus Persicus, a river of so pure a stream that the great Persian kings would drink of no other water." The line immediately preceding the text may be traced in Heylin's description of Persia, "*Hecatompyle*, the royal city, so called from the number of an *hundred gates* in the walls." T. WARTON.

Ver. 290. *Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands*, &c.] Cities of later date, *built by Emathian hands*, that is, Macedonian; by the successors of Alexander in Asia. *The great Seleucia*, built near the river Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and called *great* to distinguish it from others of the same name; *Nisibis*, another city upon the Tigris, called also Antiocha, *Antiochia quam Nisibin vocant.* Plin. vi. 16. *Artaxata*, the chief city of Armenia, seated upon the river Araxes, *juxta Araxem Artaxate.* Plin. vi. 10. *Teredon*, a city near the Persian bay, below the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, *Teredon infra confluentem Euphratis et Tigris.* Plin. vi. 28.

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Artaxata, Teredon, Cteſiphon,
Turning with eaſy eye, thou may'ſt behold.
All theſe the Parthian, (now ſome ages paſt,

Cteſiphon, near Seleucia, the winter reſidence of the Parthian kings. Strabo, L. xvi. p. 743. NEWTON.

Ver. 294. *All theſe the Parthian*, &c.] All theſe cities, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, ſometimes called *kings of Antioch*, from their uſual place of reſidence, were now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by *Arſaces*, who revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically deſcribed than Adam's proſpect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of viſion in the Paradiſe Loſt, xi. 385—411: but ſtill the anachroniſm in this is worſe than in the other: in the former Adam is ſuppoſed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities, as Nineveh, Babylon, &c. in this flouriſhing condition many years after they were laid in ruins; but it was the deſign of the former viſion to exhibit what was future, it was not the deſign of the latter to exhibit what was paſt. NEWTON.

The immediate object of this Temptation was to awaken ambition in our bleſſed Lord, by ſhowing him *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, that is, the ſplendour of the great empires that had been, or ſtill were in exiſtence. Theſe are ſhowed by means of their principal cities, the extent and magnificence of which may be ſuppoſed to mark the great power and riches of the princes, that built or inhabited them:

> " Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might ſeem
> " The *ſeats of mightieſt monarchs*;"

Thus, having traced the extenſive bounds of the *ancient Aſſyrian Empire*, he exemplifies its ſplendour and importance in the deſcription which he gives of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, the two principal ſeats of its government. He next touches on the *Perſian* and *Median* Empires, in noticing *Perſepolis* and *Ecbatana*;

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By great Arſaces led, who founded firſt 295
That empire,) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
And juſt in time thou com'ſt to have a view

and thence by directing the attention to *Hecatompylos*, &c. makes a tranſition to the *Parthian* Empire, at that time the rival and formidable antagoniſt of the Roman power. Whatever anachroniſm therefore there may be in this place, it is ſurely not introduced uſeleſsly and unneceſſarily, as Dr. Newton inſinuates. DUNSTER.

Ver. 297. ——— *the luxurious kings of Antioch*] No particular luxury ſeems laid by hiſtory to the charge of Antiochus Theus, though it was the profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras, then Governor of Parthia under him, that incited the reſentment of Arſaces, and was the cauſe of the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian Empire. See Prideaux, *Part* ii. Book 2. The conteſt with Arſaces was afterwards carried on by Seleucus, the ſon of Antiochus; againſt whom alſo no imputation of any luxurious exceſſes ſeem to be recorded. The next king of Syria who made any attempts to recover Parthia was Antiochus the Great, ſo named for his valour, prúdence, beneficence, and other virtues, which he maintained unimpeached till he was above fifty years old; when he married a young woman, and totally changing his character, paſſed his whole time, as Livy deſcribes him, L. 36, "omiſsâ omnium rerum curâ, in conviviis et vinum ſequentibus voluptatibus, ac deinde, ex fatigatione magis quam ſatietate earum, in ſomno." Before this he had however ceded Parthia and Hyrcania to Arſaces, ſon of the Arſaces who firſt headed the revolt, on condition of his becoming his confederate, and aſſiſting him to recover the other provinces. But Milton had probably here in his mind the deſcriptions given in hiſtory of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus Epiphanes; whoſe abandoned conduct and diſſipation was ſuch, that inſtead of *Epiphanes*, or the Illuſtrious, which name he had aſſumed, he was generally known by that of *Epimanes*, or the Madman. See *Polyb. apud Athenæum.* L. v. DUNSTER.

Ver. 298. *And juſt in time thou com'ſt to have a view*
Of his great power; &c.] Milton, conſidering very probably that a geographick deſcription of kingdoms, how-

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Of his great power; for now the Parthian king
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300

ever varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire, by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out of their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and ambassadours making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of our author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. THYER.

Compare the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, where Antigone has ascended the tower to behold the Grecian army, and her conductor says to her

——————— ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ Δ' ΕΒΗΣ,
Κινέμενον γὰρ τυγχάνει Πελασγικὸν
Στράτευμα—ver. 106. DUNSTER.

Ver. 299. ——— *for now the Parthian king*
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host &c.] Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was larger, and more calculated for considerable military preparations, and because they wished to save the inhabitants of Seleucia from the inconveniencies of a numerous army in a place not sufficiently large to receive them. Ταύτην δ' ἐποιοῦντο χειμάδιον οἱ τῶν Παρθυαίων βασιλεῖς, φειδόμενοι τῶν Σελευκείων, ἵνα μὴ καταγαθμεύοιντο ὑπὸ τῶν Σαυθικῶν φύλων καὶ γρατιωτικῶν· δυνάμει δὲ Παρθικὴ πόλις ἀντὶ κώμης ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοσοῦτόν γε πλῆθος δεχομένη, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀυτῶν κατασκευασμένη, καὶ τὰ ἄνια, καὶ τὰς τίχνας προσφόρως ἐκείνοις παρεσκευασμένη. Strabo, L. 16. p. 748. The passage is cited by Dr. Newton, apparently under a misapprehension of its true sense; as he infers from it that the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon

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Againſt the Scythian, whoſe incurſions wild
Have waſted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haſte; ſee, though from far,
His thouſands, in what martial equipage
They iſſue forth, ſteel bows and ſhafts their arms,

their winter reſidence, for the purpoſe of preventing the incurſions of the Scythians. But by Σκυθικῶ φύλω, we muſt underſtand ſoldiers from their provinces bordering on Scythia. The mountainous Iberians, who make a part of the Parthian army in this place, v. 318. are particularly deſcribed by Strabo as reſembling the Scythians in their manner of living, Σκυθῶν δίκην ζώντες. L. xi. DUNSTER.

Ver. 302. ——————— *to her aid*
He marches now in haſte;] In the *Charon*, or ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ of Lucian, Mercury, in a ſimilar manner ſhews, and deſcribes to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition againſt Crœſus. Having explained who Cyrus is, and having related his former conqueſts, he ſays, καὶ ΝΥΝ ἐλάσσονι ἐπὶ Λυδίαν ἔοικεν, ὡς καθελὼν τὸν Κροῖσον ἄρχοι ἁπάντων. C. 9.—This Dialogue of Lucian is not without its reſemblance, in other reſpects, to this part of our Author's poem. Mercury, to gratify Charon in a ſhort time with a full view of what is paſſing in the world, tells him that he muſt deviſe a "ſpecular mount" on purpoſe, τὸν ἱκανὸν ΣΚΟΠΙΗΝ. This he does by piling Pelion on Oſſa, and Oetà and Parnaſſus on theſe. He thence ſhews his friend an "outſtretch'd proſpect" of land and water, γῆν πολλὴν, * * * * ἢ ὄρη, ἢ ποταμούς. Charon afterwards deſires to ſee Nineveh, Babylon, and other famous cities of antiquity. The firſt of theſe Mercury tells him has been ſo completely deſtroyed, that no traces of it remain: the ſecond he ſhews him, and, it may be remarked, deſcribes it εὔπυργος, and τὸν μέγαν περίβολον (ἔχουσα,) which is very ſimilar to our Poet's "*Huge* cities and *high-tower'd*," ver. 261. ſupra. DUNSTER.

Ver. 305. ——— *ſteel bows and ſhafts their arms,*] Catullus terms the Parthians "*ſagittiferós*que Parthos," *Ep.* xi. And Dionyſius diſtinguiſhed them *as warlike and armed with bows*, Perieg. v. 1040.—ἀρήιοι, ἀγκυλοτοξοι. DUNSTER.

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Of equal dread in flight, or in purſuit; 306
All horſemen, in which fight they moſt excel;
See how in warlike muſter they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.
He look'd, and ſaw what numbers numberleſs

Ver. 306. *Of equal dread in flight, or in purſuit;*
All horſemen, in which fight they moſt excel;] Lucan notices the ſkill of the Parthians in diſcharging their arrows at their purſuers, while they fled from them, lib. i. 229. "miſſâ Parthi poſt terga ſagitta:" Ovid refers to the ſame circumſtance, *De Art. Amand.* i. 209, &c. And Virgil ſpeaks of "*Fidentémque fuga* Parthum," *Georg.* iii. 39. Dionyſius alſo deſcribes the Parthians habituated from their infancy to archery and horſemanſhip, v. 1044. DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. *In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.*] The *Rhomb* or ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ was a Battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, ſides.—The ἔμβολον, or *cuneus*, was the rhomb divided in the middle, having three ſides, repreſenting a wedge, or the Greek letter Δ. It is deſcribed by Vegetius, L. iii. 29. The *half moon* was the ἡμικαμπὴς φάλαγξ. It was in the form of a half moon, the wings being turned backwards, and the main body preſented to the enemy; it was alſo called κυρτὴ or κοίλη, being convex and hollow. The *wings* are the κέρατα of the Greeks, and the *alæ* or *cornua* of the Latins. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. ——— *what numbers numberleſs*] A manner of expreſſion, though much cenſured in our author, very familiar with the Greek poets. Thus Æſchylus, *Prometh.* 904,

Ἀπόλεμος ὁδὲ γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα
Πόριμος ———

And *Perſæ*, 679.

Ναῦς, ἄναυς νῆες. THYER.

Thus Lucretius, iii. 799, and x. 1053. "*Innumero numero.*" And ſee Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* C. xix. 121. DUNSTER.

I may reſcue the great poet from *cenſure* by ſhowing that the phraſe was common as well in the proſe, as in the poetry, of his

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The city gates out-pour'd, light-armed troops,
In coats of mail and military pride;
In mail their horſes clad, yet fleet and ſtrong,

own country. Thus Niccols, in the *Mirour for Mag.* 1610, p. 815, of an army:

" In *number numberleſſe* with freſh ſupplies."

Again, in Yarington's *Two Tragedies in One*, 1601.

——————— " happy was that griefe
" Which hath abridg'd whole *numbers, numberleſſe*."

Again, in G. Wither's *Miſtreſſe of Philarete*, 1622.

" Saw rich beauties, I confeſſe,
" And in *number, numberleſſe*."

Again, in Sir J. Davies's *Hymns to Aſtrea*, 1622.

" Recount theſe *numbers numberleſſe*."

Again, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, 1633, c. ix. ſt. 5.

" To keep this fieged town 'gainſt *numbers numberleſſe*."

And, in proſe, ſee Sir Edward Dering's *Collection of Speeches*, 4to. 1642, p. 121. " The *numberleſs numbers* of Monks, Fryers, &c." And alſo Drummond's *Cypreſſe Grove*, edit. 1681. p. 431. " The *numberleſs number* of the aſſembly." TODD.

Ver. 311. *The city* gates out-pour'd,] So, in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 121.

" Procedit legio Auſonidum, pilatâque *plenis*
" *Agmina ſe fundunt portis*; &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 312. *In coats of mail and military pride;*
In mail their horſes clad, &c.] Plutarch, in his account of the defeat of Craſſus, ſays that the Parthians, on a ſudden throwing off the covering of their armour, ſeemed all on fire from the glittering brightneſs of their helmets and breaſt-plates, which were made of *Margian* ſteel, and from the braſs and iron trappings of their horſes.—And Juſtin, ſpeaking of the Parthians, deſcribes them and their horſes completely armed, L. xli. C. 2. We may compare, with our author's deſcription in this place, a paſſage of Claudian, *In Rufin.* ii. 351.

" Hic ultrix acies *ornatu fulgida Martis*
" Explicuit cuneos. Pedites in parte ſiniſtra

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Prauncing their riders bore, the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound;
From Arachoſia, from Candaor eaſt,
And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucaſus, and dark Iberian dales;
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the ſouth
Of Suſiana, to Balſara's haven.

" Conſiſtunt; *equites illinc poſcentia curſum*
" *Ora reluctantur preſſis ſedare lupatis.*
" Hinc alii ſævum criſtato vertice nutant,
" Et tremulos humeris gaudent vibrare colores,
" Quos operit formatque chalybs. Conjuncta per artem
" Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,
" Horribilis viſu. *Credas ſimulacra moveri*
" *Ferrea, cognatôque viros ſpirare metallo.*
" *Par veſtitus equis; ferrata fronte minantur,*
" *Ferratôſque levant ſecuri vulneris armos.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound;*] He had before mentioned the principal cities of the Parthians, and he now recounts ſeveral of their provinces. *Arachoſia* near the river Indus, μέχρι τῦ Ἰνδῦ πολαμῦ τεταμένη, Strabo, L. xi. p. 516. *Candaor*, not *Gandaor*, as in ſome editions; I ſuppoſe the *Candari*, a people of India, mentioned by Pliny, L. vi. Sect. 18. Theſe were provinces to the eaſt; and to the north *Margiana* and *Hyrcania*, Strabo, L. ii. p. 72; and mount *Caucaſus*, and *Iberia*, which is called *dark*, as the country abounded with foreſts. See Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 34. NEWTON.

Ver. 317. ——————— *the* Hyrcanian *cliffs*
Of Caucaſus, *and dark Iberian dales*;] Shirvan and Dagheſtan, or *The country of rocks*, are thoſe provinces which Milton calls " the *Hyrcanian* cliffs of *Caucaſus*, &c."
SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 319. *From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains*
Of Adiabene, Media, and the ſouth
Of Suſiana, to Balſara's haven.] This deſcription

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He ſaw them in their forms of battle rang'd,
How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them
ſhot
Sharp fleet of arrowy ſhowers againſt the face

of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with Arachoſia eaſt; then advances northward to Margiana; and from thence, turning weſtward, proceeds to Hyrcania, Iberia, and the Atropatian or northern diviſion of Media. Here it turns again ſouthward, and carries us to Adiabene, or the weſtern part of Babylonia, which, as Dr. Newton obſerves, Strabo (L. xvi. p. 745,) deſcribes as a *plain country*, τῆς μὲν ὃν Ἀδιαβηνὴς ἡ πλείστη πεδιάς ἐστι; then, paſſing through part of Media, it concludes with Suſiana, which extended ſouthward to the Perſian Gulph, called *Balſara's haven*, from the Port of Balſera, Baſſorah, or Buſſorah. DUNSTER.

To the Weſt of *Pars* is the Province of *Khuzeſtan*, which the Greeks call *Suſiana*; it has no mountain in it, but conſiſts wholly of large plains. It has part of *Perſian Irák* to the North, the Gulph to the South; and it extends weſtward as far as the plains of Wáſſet and the port of *Baſra*, whence Milton ſays "*the ſouth* of Suſiana to *Balſara's* haven." But he pronounces the word *Baſra* very improperly, and makes alſo a conſiderable miſtake, in putting into the mouth of the Tempter the name of a city, which *was not built, till ſix hundred years after the Temptation.*

SIR W. JONES.

* Ver. 324. *Sharp fleet of arrowy ſhowers*] Mr. Richardſon obſerves that this is not unlike Virgil's

——— "fundunt ſimul undique tela ·
"Crebra *nivis ritu*," *Æn.* ii. 610.

To which we may add another ſimilar paſſage, *Æn.* xii. 284.

——— "it toto turbida cœlo
"*Tempeſtas telorum*, ac *ferreus* ingruit *imber*."

The "*arrowy hail*," or "*arrowy ſhower*" was a figure of ſpeech not uncommon with the Roman proſe writers as well as poets. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, "*ritu grandinis* undique

* Gray has taken the very words:
"Iron fleet of arrowy ſhower
Hurtles in the darkened air." — Fatal Sisters.

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Of their purſuers, and overcame by flight;
The field all iron caſt a gleaming brown:

convolantibus telis." L. xiv. C. 10. P. 49. Ed. Gronov. Fol. Spenſer has " *ſhower* and *hail of arrows*," F. Q. v. iv. 38.

DUNSTER.

Similar phraſes are in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. viii. p. 115, ed. 1622, and in the *Mirour for Mag.* p. 644, ed. 1610. Nor ſhould the Angel's tremendous prediction in *Par. Loſt* be unnoticed, B. vi. 543.

——— " this day will pour down,
" If I conjecture aught, no drizzling *ſhower*,
" But rattling *ſtorm of arrows* barbed with fire."

But Milton, in this paſſage of *Par. Regained*, had probably P. Fletcher in view, *Purp. Iſland*, c. xi. ſt. 47.

" And in their courſe oft would they turn behinde,
" And *with their glancing darts their hot purſuers blinde.*

48.

" As when by Ruſſian Volgha's frozen banks
" The falſe-back *Tartars* fear with cunning feigne,
" And, poaſting faſt away in *flying* ranks,
" *Oft backward turn, and from their bows down rain*
" *Whole ſtorms of darts*; ſo do they *flying fight*:
" And what by force they loſe, they winne by ſleight;
" Conquer'd by ſtanding out, and *conquerours by flight.*"

TODD.

Ver. 326. *The field all iron caſt a gleaming brown:*] Dr. Newton obſerves that this line greatly exceeds Fairfax's, *Taſſo*, c. i. ſt. 64.

" Embattailed in walls of *iron brown*;"

and even a very fine paſſage in Virgil, which has certainly much reſemblance to the *field all iron*, *Æn.* xi. 601.

——— " tum latè *ferreus* haſtis
" Horret *ager, campique armis ſublimibus ardent.*"

But I have met with a paſſage more immediately parallel in Euripides, who literally deſcribes his field *all braſs*, in the ſame

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Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
Cuiraſſiers all in ſteel for ſtanding fight,
Chariots, or elephants indors'd with towers

ſcene of the *Phœniſſæ*, in which I have noted a coincidence of expreſſion with ver. 298 ſupr.

——— ΚΑΤΑΧΑΛΧΟΝ ΑΠΑΝ
ΠΕΔΙΟΝ ἀσπαστῆι DUNSTER.

Ver. 327. ——— *clouds of foot*,] So we have in Homer *Il.* iv. 274. Νεφὸς πεζῶν; and in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 793. *nimbus peditum*.—But as Mr. Thyer obſerves with me, this verſe is not very conſiſtent with what goes before, v. 307.

" *All horſemen*, in which fight they moſt excell;"

nor with what follows to the ſame purpoſe, v. 344.

" Such, and ſo numerous, was their *chivalry*." NEWTON.

Mr. Dunſter obſerves, that by *horſemen* Milton meant only ſkilled in the management of a horſe, as every Parthian was; and by no means that they never engaged except on horſeback. And by *chivalry* he means, as I have already remarked, the army in general, like the Italian *cavalleria*. See the note on *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 307. TODD.

Ver. 328. *Cuiraſſiers all in ſteel for ſtanding fight*,] Salluſt, *Fragment*. L. iv. ſpeaks of " Equites Cataphracti *ferrea omni ſpecie*." Similar to the Cataphracts of the Romans were the καταφρακτοι of the Perſians; whom the Author of the *Gloſſarium Nomicum* deſcribes, ὁλοσιδηροι, *all in ſteel*. DUNSTER.

Hence perhaps the phraſe, ſo common in our old poetry, *clad in complete ſteel*. See note on *Comus*, v. 421. So, in *The Battell of Alcazar*, 1594.

" That *clads* himſelfe in coat of hammerd *ſteele*."

And, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* c. xlii. ſt. 51. " A knight *all armd* in ſhining *ſteele*." TODD.

Ver. 329. ——— *elephants* indors'd *with towers*] Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of elephants in the Perſian army, L. 24. Pliny mentions them bearing towers with ſixty ſoldiers on them, " turriti cum ſexagenis propugnatoribus," viii. 7.

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Of archers; nor of labouring pioneers
A multitude, with ſpades and axes arm'd
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raiſe hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
Mules after theſe, camels and dromedaries,
And waggons, fraught with útenſils of war.
Such forces met not, nor ſo wide a camp,
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Beſieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,

I find the verb *indorſe* uſed in the ſame ſenſe by Jonſon, in an *Epigram to William Earl of Newcaſtle*, upon his horſemanſhip:

" Nay, ſo your feat his beauties did *endorſe*,
" As I began to wiſh myſelf a horſe." DUNSTER.

Ver. 330. ——— *of* labouring pioneers
A multitude, with ſpades and axes arm'd] Dr. Newton refers to *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. i. 675. But Milton ſeems to have here remembered a paſſage in Shakſpeare's *Venus and Adonis*;

" There might you ſee the *labouring pioneer*." TODD.

Ver. 333. ——— *or overlay*
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;] Alluding probably to Æſchylus's deſcription of Xerxes's bridge over the Helleſpont, *Perſæ*, 71.

Πολύγομφον ὄδισμα
Ζυγὸν ἀμφιϛαλῶν αὐχένι πόντου. THYER.

The river Araxes is termed by Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 728. " pontem indignatus Araxes," from its carrying away, by a violent inundation, a bridge which Alexander had juſt built over it. DUNSTER.

Ver. 337. *Such forces met not, nor ſo wide a camp,*
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Beſieg'd Albracca, &c.] What Milton here alludes to, is related in Boiardo's *Orlando Inamorato*, L. i. c. 10. The

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The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win 340
The faireſt of her ſex Angelica,

number of forces ſaid to be there aſſembled is incredible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no leſs than two millions two hundred thouſand;

" Ventidue centinaia di migliaja
" Di caualier hauea quel Rè nel campo,
" Coſa non mai udita"

and Sacripante the king of Circaſſia, who comes to the aſſiſtance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thouſand. It muſt be acknowledged, I think, by the greateſt admirers of Milton, that the impreſſion which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blameable exceſs. Not to mention the notorious fabulouſneſs of the fact alluded to, which I doubt ſome people will cenſure in a poem of ſo grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican &c. is by far too much diſproportioned to any army, which the Parthian king by an hiſtorical evidence could be ſuppoſed to bring into the field. THYER.

Cervantes, who was equally ſtudious of romances, expreſſes the idea of a prodigious concourſe of people by the ſame ſimile: " Before we are two hours in theſe croſs-ways, we ſhall ſee armed men, more numerous than thoſe that came to Albracca, to win Angelica the fair." *Don Quix.* B. 2. Ch. 2.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 337. *Such forces met not*, &c.] See Par. Loſt, B. i. 574. And Lucan, *Pharſal.* iii. 288.

——— " *coiere nec unquam*
" Tam variæ cultu gentes, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 341. *The faireſt of her ſex Angelica*,] This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the ſame character in Arioſto's *Orlando Furioſo*, which was intended as a continuation of the ſtory, which Boiardo had begun. As Milton fetches his ſimile from a romance, he adopts the terms uſed by theſe writers, viz. *proweſt* and *Paynim*. THYER.

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His daughter, ſought by many proweſt knights,
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and ſo numerous was their chivalry:
At ſight whereof the Fiend yet more preſum'd,
And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.
That thou may'ſt know I ſeek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way ſecure
On no ſlight grounds thy ſafety; hear, and mark,
To what end I have brought thee hither, and
ſhown
All this fair ſight: Thy kingdom, though foretold
By Prophet or by Angel, unleſs thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never ſhalt obtain; prediction ſtill
In all things, and all men, ſuppoſes means;
Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
But, ſay thou wert poſſeſs'd of David's throne,
By free conſent of all, none oppoſite,
Samaritan or Jew; how could'ſt thou hope
Long to enjoy it, quiet and ſecure,
Between two ſuch encloſing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? Therefore one of theſe
Thou muſt make ſure thy own; the Parthian firſt
By my advice, as nearer, and of late
Found able by invaſion to annoy

Proweſt is the ſuperlative of *prow*, from the old French *preux*, valiant. *Preux chevalier* is the old term for the Heroes of Romance. The French writers of chivalry ſpeak of the "nine worthies" under the title of *les neuf preux*. DUNSTER.

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Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,
Maugre the Roman: It ſhall be my taſk
To render thee the Parthian at diſpoſe,
Chooſe which thou wilt, by conqueſt or by league:
By him thou ſhalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly re-inſtall thee
In David's royal ſeat, his true ſucceſſour,
Deliverance of thy brethren, thoſe ten tribes,
Whoſe offspring in his territory yet ſerve,

Ver. 366. ——— *and captive lead away her kings,*
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,] Here ſeems to be a ſlip of memory in our Author. The Parthians indeed led *Hyrcanus* away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was paſt ſeventy years of age, ſo that he might well be called *old Hyrcanus;* but inſtead of leading away *Antigonus* captive, they conſtituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards deprived of his kingdom by the Romans. See Joſephus *Antiq.* Lib. 14. cap. 13. *De Bell. Jud.* Lib. 1. cap. 13. But it ſhould be conſidered that Milton himſelf was old and blind, and compoſing from memory he might fall into ſuch a miſtake, which may be pardoned among ſo many excellences. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton's obſervation on the miſtake of our "old blind" poet, is here rather unfortunate; as he himſelf, with his eyes open, ſeems to have fallen into a conſiderable miſtake in this note, by deſcribing *Hyrcanus* as having his eyes put out, which does not appear to have been the caſe. His ears were cut off by his rival Antigonus, (See Joſeph. *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 13.) to render him incapable, when maimed in perſon, of filling the office of High Prieſt; but, (L. xv. C. 6. Sect. 14. where the various misfortunes that befel *Hyrcanus* are particularly recited,) nothing is ſaid of his eyes being put out. DUNSTER.

Ver. 374. ——— *thoſe ten tribes,*
Whoſe offspring in his territory yet ſerve,
In Habor, and among the Medes diſpers'd:] Theſe

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In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd:
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates, and beyond,

were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried captive into Assyria, "*and put them in Halab and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes,*" II Kings, xviii. 11; which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. Ten *sons of Jacob, two of Joseph,*] The ten captive tribes of the Israelites were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Napthali, Ephraim, and Manasses. Only eight of these were sons of Jacob; the two others were the sons of Joseph. I would suppose therefore that the Poet meant to give it,

"*Eight* sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost."

Otherwise he must have included, in the *ten* sons of Jacob, both Levi and Joseph. The Levites, it is true, did not form a distinct tribe, nor had any possessions allotted them; but, being carried into captivity with the other tribes, amongst whom they were scattered, Levi might be referred to among the lost sons of Jacob. It seems however quite incorrect to refer to Joseph, as the head of a tribe, when he was really merged in the tribes of his two sons Epraim and Manasses. DUNSTER.

Ver. 384. *From Egypt to Euphrates,*] That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent; for thus the land was promised to Abraham, *Gen.* xv. 18. "*Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates:*" and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, I *Kings*, iv. 21. NEWTON.

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Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæſar not need fear.
To whom our Saviour anſwer'd thus, unmov'd.
Much oſtentation vain of fleſhly arm
And fragile arms, much inſtrument of war,
Long in preparing, ſoon to nothing brought,
Before mine eyes thou haſt ſet; and in my ear
Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,
Plauſible to the world, to me worth nought.
Means I muſt uſe, thou ſay'ſt; prediction elſe
Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne:

Ver. 387. *Much oſtentation vain of fleſhly arm*] "Fleſhly arm" is ſcriptural. "With him is an *arm of fleſh*, but with us is the Lord our God, to help us, and to fight our battles." II *Chron.* xxxii. 8. and ſee *Jer.* xvii. 5. Spenſer has, *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 1.

"What man is he that boaſts of *fleſhly might?*" DUNSTER.

I might add *Faer. Qu.* i. ix. 11. "And who moſt truſtes in *arme* of *fleſhly might*." But the reading of Spenſer's ſecond edition of his *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 27, is that to which Milton here ſeems inclined:

"So feeble is the powre of *fleſhly arme*:"

Where the firſt edition reads *fleſhy*. Milton has alſo "the *fleſhly arm* of magiſtracy," Obſerv. on Art. of Peace between the E. of Ormond and the Iriſh. TODD.

Ver. 388. ——— *much* inſtrument *of war*,
Long in preparing,] "Totius belli *inſtrumento et apparatu*." Ciceron. *Academic.* ii. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 394. ——— *prediction elſe*
Will unpredict,] This refers to what the Tempter had ſaid before, ver. 354, where he had fallaciouſly applied the argument, that the requiſite reliance on divine providence does not by any means countenance a ſupine negligence, and a dereliction of all perſonal exertions. Mr. Thyer cenſures the manner

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My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee
Were better fartheſt off,) is not yet come:
When that comes, think not thou to find me ſlack
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
Thy politick maxims, or that cumberſome
Luggage of war there ſhown me, argument
Of human weakneſs rather than of ſtrength.
My brethren, as thou call'ſt them, thoſe ten tribes
I muſt deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full ſcepter ſway
To juſt extent over all Iſrael's ſons.
But whence to thee this zeal? Where was it then
For Iſrael, or for David, or his throne,
When thou ſtood'ſt up his tempter to the pride

of ſpeaking here, as too light and familiar for the dignity of the ſpeaker, but it ſtrikes me as cenſurable not ſo much for the lightneſs, as for the quaintneſs, of the expreſſion, and ſomewhat of that jingling play upon words, of which our author was certainly too fond. To *unpredict* is ſomething like to *uncreate*. See *Par. Loſt*, B. v. 895, and B. ix. 943. DUNSTER.

Ver. 396. *My time,* &c.] John vii. 6. NEWTON.

Ver. 401. ——————— *argument*
Of human weakneſs rather than of ſtrength.] It is a proof of human weakneſs, as it ſhows that man is obliged to depend upon ſomething extrinſical to himſelf, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himſelf. It alludes to the common obſervation, that Nature has furniſhed all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Anacreon's *Ode* on this thought. THYER.

Ver. 409. *When* thou ſtood'ſt up *his* tempter &c.] Alluding to I Chron. xxi. 1. "And *Satan ſtood up* againſt Iſrael, and *provoked David* to number Iſrael." Milton, we ſee, conſiders it

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Of numbering Iſraël, which coſt the lives
Of threeſcore and ten thouſand Iſraelites
By three days peſtilence? Such was thy zeal
To Iſrael then; the ſame that now to me!
As for thoſe captive tribes, themſelves were they

not as the advice of any evil counſellor, as ſome underſtand the word *Satan*, but as the ſuggeſtion of the firſt author of evil: and he expreſſes it very properly by *the pride of numbering Iſrael*; for the beſt commentators ſuppoſe the nature of David's offence to conſiſt in pride and vanity, in making fleſh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were propoſed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be deſtroyed before his enemies, or three days peſtilence; of which he choſe the latter. "*So the Lord ſent peſtilence upon Iſrael, and there fell of Iſrael ſeventy thouſand men*," ver. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 414. *As for thoſe captive tribes*, &c.] The captivity of the ten tribes was a puniſhment owing to their own idolatry and wickedneſs. *They fell off from God to worſhip calves*, the golden calves which Jeroboam had ſet up in Bethel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deities of Egypt*; for it is probable, (as ſome learned men have conjectured,) that Jeroboam, having converſed with the Egyptians, ſet up theſe two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worſhipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Aſhtaroth*. Ahab built an altar and a temple for *Baal*, I Kings xvi. 32. and at the ſame time probably was introduced the worſhip of *Aſhtaroth*, *the Goddeſs of the Zidonians*, I Kings xi. 5. For Jezebel, Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was *the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians*, I Kings xvi. 31. And, by *the prophets of the groves* (I Kings, xviii. 19.), Mr. Selden underſtands the prophets of *Aſhtaroth* or *Aſtarte*; and *the groves under every green tree*, II Kings, xvii. 10. ſhould be tranſlated *Aſhtaroth under every green tree*. See Selden *de Diis Syris Syntag.* ii. cap. 2. But for the wickedneſs and idolatry of the Iſraelites, and their rejection thereupon, and ſtill

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Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worſhip calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next and Aſhtaroth,
And all the idolatries of Heathen round,
Beſides their other worſe than heatheniſh crimes;
Nor in the land of their captivity
Humbled themſelves, or penitent beſought
The God of their forefathers; but ſo died
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themſelves, diſtinguiſhable ſcarce
From Gentiles, but by circumciſion vain;
And God with idols in their worſhip join'd.
Should I of theſe the liberty regard,
Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,

continuing impenitent in their captivity, ſee II *Kings*, xvii. and the prophets in ſeveral places. NEWTON.

Ver. 428. *Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,*
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan?] There is ſome difficulty and obſcurity in this paſſage; and ſeveral conjectures and emendations have been offered to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to ſatisfaction. Mr. Sympſon would read *Headlong would fall off, and &c.* or *Headlong would fall, &c.* But Mr. Calton ſeems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, ſays he? There wants an accuſative caſe; and what muſt be underſtood to complete the ſenſe can never be accounted for by an ellipſis, that any rules or uſe of language will juſtify. He therefore ſuſpects by ſome accident a whole line may have been loſt; and propoſes one, which he ſays may ſerve at leaſt for a commentary to explain the ſenſe, if it cannot be allowed for an emendation:

" *Their fathers in their old iniquities*
" Headlong would follow, &c."

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Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd, 429
Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them ſerve

Or is not the conſtruction thus, *Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their Gods perhaps, &c.?* NEWTON.

There is ſomewhat of obſcurity here, it muſt be allowed; but I conceive our author to have many paſſages that are more implicate. The ſenſe ſeems to be this: "Who, if they were freed from that captivity, which was inflicted on them as a puniſhment for their diſobedience, idolatry, and other vices, would return to take poſſeſſion of their country, as ſomething to which they were juſtly entitled, and of which they had been long unjuſtly deprived; without ſhewing the leaſt ſenſe either of their former abandoned conduct, or of God's goodneſs in pardoning and reſtoring them. This change in their ſituation would produce none whatever in their conduct, but they would retain the ſame hardened hearts, and the ſame wicked diſpoſitions as before, and moſt probably would betake themſelves to their old idolatries and other abominations."—The expreſſion *headlong would follow* ſeems alluſive to brute animals hurrying in a gregarious manner to any new and better paſture; and *headlong* might be particularly ſuggeſted by Salluſt's deſcription of irrational animals, "pecora, quæ natura *prona*, atque *ventri obedientia* finxit." If a correction of the text be thought neceſſary, I ſhould prefer,

"Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,
"Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
"Headlong would *fall unto* their Gods, perhaps
"Of Bethel and of Dan ——"

in recommendation of which it may be obſerved that *fall to idols* is Miltonick; as it is ſaid of Solomon, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. i. 444, that his heart

"Beguil'd by fair idolatreſſes *fell*
"*To* idols foul." DUNSTER.

Ver. 429. *Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,*] See my note on *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 185. TODD.

Ver. 431. —— *No; let them ſerve*
Their enemies, &c.] "Like as ye have forſaken

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Their enemies, who ſerve idols with God.
Yet he at length, (time to himſelf beſt known,)
Remembering Abraham, by ſome wonderous call
May bring them back, repentant and ſincere,
And at their paſſing cleave the Aſſyrian flood,
While to their native land with joy they haſte;
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the Promis'd Land their fathers paſs'd:
To his due time and providence I leave them.
So ſpake Iſrael's true king, and to the Fiend

me, and ſerved ſtrange gods in your land, ſo ſhall ye ſerve ſtrangers in a land that is not yours," *Jer.* v. 19. DUNSTER.

Ver. 436. *And at their paſſing cleave the Aſſyrian flood*, &c.] There are ſeveral prophecies of the reſtoration of Iſrael: but in ſaying that the Lord would cleave *the Aſſyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates, at their return from Aſſyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet ſeems particularly to allude to *Rev.* xvi. 12, and to *Iſa.* xi. 15, 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 441. ——————— *and to the Fiend*
Made anſwer meet, that made void all his wiles.] We may compare the following paſſage of Vida, where Satan, in his Speech to the Devils in Pandæmonium, relates how he had been foiled in the Temptation of our bleſſed Lord, *Chriſtiad*, i. 198.

" Quas non in facies, quæ non mutatus in ora
" Acceſſi incaſſum! Semper me reppulit ipſe
" Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus uſus;
" Sed, tantum veterum repetito carmine vatum,
" *Irrita tentamenta, dolos, et vim exuit omnem.*"

DUNSTER.

So, in G. Fletcher's *Chriſt's Victory*, the Sorcereſs is thus foiled in the Temptation of our Lord;

" But he *her charms diſperſed into wind*,
" And her of inſolence admoniſhed." TODD.

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Made anſwer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it, when with truth falſhood contends.

Ver. 253. p. 171. *It was a mountain* &c.] All that the Scripture ſaith is, that the Devil took Jeſus up "*into an exceeding high mountain*" (Matt. iv. 8.); which commentators generally ſuppoſe to have been one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, or near the wilderneſs. The ancients ſpeak little concerning it; but the moderns imagine it to have been the mountain Quarantania, as it is now called. Mr. Maundrell, in his *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem*, ſpeaking of the plain of Jericho, ſays, "we deſcended into it, after about five hours march from Jeruſalem. As ſoon as we entered the plain, we turned up on the left hand, and, going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania; which they ſay is the mountain into which the Devil took our bleſſed Saviour, when he tempted him with that viſionary ſcene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew ſtyles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its aſcent not only difficult but dangerous." But this is all conjecture; and, as the Scripture has not ſpecified any particular place, the poet was at liberty in this point to ſuit it to his own fancy. By his deſcription here he muſt mean Mount Taurus, for he deſcribes it exactly in the ſame manner as Strabo has deſcribed that part of Mount Taurus which divides the greater Armenia from Meſopotamia, and which contains the ſources of the Euphrates and Tigris. Τὸ δ' οὖν νοτιώτατον [βορειότατον] μάλιστα ἐστιν ὁ Ταῦρος ὁρίζων τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀμφότεροι ῥέουσιν οἱ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐγκυκλούμενοι ποταμοί. Strabo, L. xi. p. 521. NEWTON.

That part of Mount Taurus which bounds Meſopotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was ſometimes called ſimply Mount Taurus, and ſometimes the Gordyæan mountains; in the middle of which, nearly above Niſibis, ſtood Mount Maſius. But this mountainous range does not contain the ſources either of the Euphrates or Tigris; although from every part of it leſſer contributary ſtreams flow into each of theſe rivers. In the paſſage cited by Dr. Newton from Strabo, ῥέουσιν ſignifies only that the two rivers *flow through*, or *among ſt*, theſe mountains, and not that they *ſpring*, or *have their ſources*, in them. That

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ſuch is here the ſenſe of ῥέουσιν appears from another paſſage of the ſame ancient geographer in this part of his work, where, having traced the courſe of Mount Taurus eaſtward to the Euphrates, he ſpeaks of the continuity of theſe mountains being no further interrupted than by the courſe of the river as it *flows through the middle* of them—ὄρη συνέχη τοῖς μὲν πρανεσι ρηνίαις, πλὴν ὅσον διαλείπει ΡΕΩΝ διὰ μέσων ὁ ποταμός. Indeed Strabo is very particular in pointing out the original ſources of theſe two rivers. The ſprings of the Tigris he fixes in the ſouthern ſide of Mount Niphates, which is conſiderably north-eaſt of Mount Maſius and the Gordyæan mountains; and the prime ſource of the Euphrates he carries very far north, (as Ptolemy had alſo done) and affirms that the ſprings of the two rivers are two thouſand five hundred *ſtadia*, (which is above four hundred miles) diſtant from each other. Poſſibly there is ſome errour here, as Euſtathius, (on Dionyſius, v. 985.) ſays they are only one thouſand five hundred *ſtadia* apart. As the mountains, which conſtitute the head or northern boundary of Meſopotamia, incline to the ſouth, and are abſolutely the moſt ſouthern part of the whole ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus alone excepted, they are juſtly deſcribed by Strabo, νοτιώτατον; and why Dr. Newton ſhould give βορειότατον, as an hypothetical emendation in a parentheſis, or why Xylander ſhould render the paſſage "*maxime ad ſeptentriones accedens*," I do not comprehend. Mount Maſius, or any projecting elevation of that ridge, would have been no improper point for viewing a great part of this geographical ſcene. Milton might therefore, not without reaſon, be ſuppoſed to have followed Strabo as cited by Dr. Newton: and indeed "from his ſide two rivers flow'd" ſeems almoſt an exact tranſlation of ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἀμφότεροι ῥέουσιν, &c. But ſtill, all circumſtances conſidered, I conceive this was not the exact ſpot which he had ſelected in his mind for his "ſpecular mount." We muſt recollect that, at the concluſion of the third Book of his *Paradiſe Loſt*, he makes Satan, in his way to Paradiſe, alight on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while he is there, it is ſaid that Eden "in his view lay pleaſant."

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that place for Satan to light upon, and from thence to ſurvey Eden, was certainly owing to his conſidering it as the moſt elevated range of this part of Mount Taurus; and, that it was ſo, he collected from

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Strabo, who, having traced the courſe of the mountain from the Euphrates eaſtward, or rather north-eaſt, and having deſcribed the Gordyæan mountains as being higher than any parts which he had before conſidered, ſays, "from thence it riſes ſtill higher, and is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Niphates."—ἔπειτα ἐξαίρεται ὄρος, καὶ καλεῖται Νιφάτης. The object of the poet, in this part of the *Paradiſe Regained*, certainly was to ſelect a point of Mount Taurus inclining to the ſouth-eaſt, but ſufficiently central and elevated to command the Caſpian ſea, Artaxata, and other places ſpecified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount Niphates moſt particularly ſuited his purpoſe, and will, I imagine, be found to agree perfectly with all his deſcriptions. It may be obſerved alſo that it riſes immediately above Aſſyria, which is the firſt country ſhowed to our Lord. As to what is ſaid, that *from its ſide two rivers flow'd*, the ſources of the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the ſouthern ſide of this mountain; and ſeveral ancient authors have ſuppoſed the Euphrates and Tigris to ſpring from the ſame ſource. Salluſt affirms this in a fragment preſerved by Seneca; "Salluſtius, auctor certiſſimus, aſſerit *Tigrin et Euphratem uno fonte manare* in Armenia, qui per diverſa euntes longius dividantur, ſpatio medio relicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipſis ambitur, Meſopotamia dicitur." Boethius likewiſe, (*Conſ. Philoſoph.* L. v.) ſays poſitively,

"Tigris et Euphrates *uno ſe fonte* reſolvunt;"

And Lucan, L. iii. 256.

"Quáque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus
"Euphrates, quos *non diverſis fontibus* edit
"Perſis;"

on which paſſage Grotius obſerves, that *non diverſis* means *parum diſtantibus*, but adds "vulgo tamen creditum *unum habuiſſe fontem*." It is alſo obſervable that one principal ſource of the Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount Abus, at no conſiderable diſtance north of Mount Niphates. Neither has the prime ſource of this river been carried by other geographers ſo far north, as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it. It may be further remarked, that the deſcriptions of the poet in other reſpects point out Niphates as the "ſpecular mount," in preference to Mount Maſius or any point of the Taurus between

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that mountain and the Euphrates; as in ſuch a ſtation, the verſe deſcribing the extent of the Aſſyrian empire,

" As far as Indus eaſt, Euphrates weſt,"

ſeems highly improper, when the ſpeaker was ſtanding ſo near the very bank of the laſt river. Beſides, had the ſpectators of this geographical ſcene been placed on Mount Maſius, or any point of the mountains immediately at the head of Meſopotamia, the plain " at the feet of theſe mountains" would have been *only* Meſopotamia. But the poet poſitively diſtinguiſhes between Meſopotamia and his *great plain*, that lay at the foot of that vaſt range of Mount Taurus of which Mount Niphates may be conſidered as the higheſt and moſt central point. The latter he deſcribes " *a ſpacious plain outſtretch'd in circuit wide;*" while the former he places between its two rivers, and terms it " *fair champain with leſs rivers intervein'd.*" DUNSTER.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

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THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, perſiſting in the temptation of our Lord, ſhows him Imperial Rome in its greateſt pomp and ſplendour, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greateſt eaſe expel Tiberius, reſtore the Romans to their liberty, and make himſelf maſter not only of the Roman Empire, but by ſo doing of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expreſſes his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, notices the luxury, vanity, and profligacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be reſtored to that liberty, which they had loſt by their miſconduct, and briefly refers to the greatneſs of his own future kingdom. Satan, now deſperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, profeſſes that the only terms, on which he will beſtow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worſhipping him. Our Lord expreſſes a firm but temperate indignation at ſuch a propoſition, and rebukes the Tempter by the title of "Satan for ever damned." Satan, abaſhed, attempts to juſtify himſelf: he then aſſumes a new ground of temptation, and, propoſing to Jeſus the intellectual gratifications of wiſdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated ſeat of ancient learning, Athens, its ſchools, and other various reſorts of learned teachers and their diſciples; accompanying the view with a highly-finiſhed panegyrick on the Grecian muſicians, poets, orators, and philoſophers of the different ſects. Jeſus replies, by ſhowing the vanity and inſufficiency of the boaſted Heathen philoſophy; and prefers to the muſick, poetry, eloquence, and didactick policy of the Greeks, thoſe of the inſpired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiſcretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers;

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and, having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on: Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts further to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrifick threatening spectres; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrours of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord, and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his "fatal Enemy." In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly he conveys him to the Temple at Jerusalem, and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his Divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and at the same time manifests his own Divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls; and repairs to his Infernal Compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels in the mean time convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.

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PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

PERPLEX'D and troubled at his bad ſucceſs
The Tempter ſtood, nor had what to reply,
Diſcover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the perſuaſive rhetorick
That ſleek'd his tongue, and won ſo much on Eve,
So little here, nay loſt; but Eve was Eve;
This far his over-match, who, ſelf-deceiv'd
And raſh, before-hand had no better weigh'd

Ver. 4. ———— *the perſuaſive* rhetorick] Thus the Serpent's addreſs to Eve is termed, in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 191, "glozing *rhetorike*." And Milton alſo, in his account of the Temptation of Eve, *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 549, ſays "So *gloz'd* the Tempter." See alſo *Comus*, v. 790. But Milton here had probably the *Eva* di Fed. Malipiero, Ven. 1640, 12mo. in his mind, where the fall of Eve is related, p. 98. "Ma io crederei, ch' il peccato di Adamo foſſe ſtato anche maggiore, perch' Eva alla per fine debole, e tentata dal Diavolo, ch' è il maeſtro della RETTORICA *tentativa* poteva facilmente ingannarla." TODD.

Ver. 5. *That* ſleek'd *his tongue*,] So Quarles, in his *Elegy on Dr. Wilſon*, ſt. iii.

"No far-fetch'd metaphor ſhall ſmooth or *ſleek*
"My ruffled ſtrain." DUNSTER.

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The ſtrength he was to cope with, or his own:
But as a man, who had been matchleſs held

Ver. 9. *The ſtrength he was to cope with, or his own:*] Milton might allude to the *particular* deſcription of *a ſtrong man foiled*, Luke xi. 21, 22. "When a ſtrong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when *a ſtronger man* than he ſhall come upon him, and overcome him, he *taketh from him all his armour wherein he truſted.*" Theſe words were ſpoken by Chriſt himſelf, poſſibly with a reference to his victory over the Tempter, who "had no better weighed *the ſtrength* he was to cope with, or his own." TODD.

Ver. 10. *But as a man*, &c.] It is the method of Homer to illuſtrate and adorn the ſame ſubject with ſeveral ſimilitudes. Our author here follows his example, and preſents us with a *ſtring* of ſimiles together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be ſufficiently admired; but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this reſpect, that in Homer the loweſt compariſon is ſometimes the laſt, whereas here they riſe one upon another. The firſt has too much fameneſs with the ſubject that it would illuſtrate, and gives us no new ideas. The ſecond is low, but it is the lowneſs of Homer, and at the ſame time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and riſes up to Milton's uſual dignity and majeſty. Mr. Thyer alſo obſerves that Milton, as if conſcious of the defects of his two firſt compariſons, riſes in the third to his uſual ſublimity. NEWTON.

Ibid. *But as a man, who had been matchleſs held*, &c.] The character of *the man of genius irritated by defeat*, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indiſtinct, materially to illuſtrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore perhaps ſuppoſe the deſcription in this place to have been *perſonal*; it might refer to his old literary, political enemy, Salmaſius, as the "man who had been matchleſs held," and who, after being "foiled" in the controverſy by our author's *defenſio populi*, endeavoured "to ſalve his credit" by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finiſh, but which was publiſhed by his ſon: or it might relate to his later antagoniſt Alexander More, or Morus. DUNSTER.

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In cunning, over-reach'd where leaſt he thought,
To ſalve his credit, and for very ſpite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him ſtill,
And never ceaſe, though to his ſhame the more;
Or as a ſwarm of flies in vintage time,

Ver. 15. *Or as a ſwarm of flies* &c.] This compariſon, Dr. Jortin obſerves, is very juſt; and in the manner of Homer, *Il.* xvi..641.

Οἱ δ' ἀιεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὁμίλεον, ὡς ὅτε μῦιαι
Σταθμῷ ἔνι βρομέωσι περιγλαγέας κατὰ σίλλας,
Ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τὰ γλάγος ἅδρηα δεύει.

See alſo *Il.* xvii. 570, &c. Mr. Thyer notices likewiſe the ſimile of the Flies in the ſecond Book of the *Iliad*, 469.

Ἠΰτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ,
Αἵτε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἠλάσκουσιν
Ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τὰ γλάγος ἅδρηα δεύει.

The language of this laſt ſimile is beautiful, but the image which it preſents is of a kind that ſcarcely embelliſhes, and certainly does not dignify, the deſcription. The other two compariſons of a band of warriours obſtinately defending the dead body of their companion from the repeated attacks of the enemy, to a number of flies which it is ſcarcely poſſible to drive back from a milk pail, and of a ſingle hero acting the ſame reſolute part, to a fly that will not quit a dead carcaſe, are, it muſt be allowed, ſimilies of the degrading kind, and unworthy of the ſubject they are intended to illuſtrate. But the application of the ſame ſimile by Milton in this place is ſo perfectly appropriate, that no ſuch objection lies againſt it. It is juſtly obſerved by Dr. Blair, reſpecting ſimilies, "that they are commonly intended to embelliſh and to dignify; and therefore, unleſs in burleſque writing, or where ſimilies are introduced purpoſely to vilify and diminiſh an object, mean ideas ſhould never be preſented to us." This then is one of the Critick's exceptions, as it may be ſuppoſed the Poet's object here to diminiſh, by ſetting in its true light, the character of the Tempter, which in parts of this Poem he had found it convenient to inveſt

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About the wine-preſs where ſweet muſt is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming ſound;
Or ſurging waves againſt a ſolid rock,
Though all to ſhivers daſh'd, the aſſault renew,
(Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end;

with ſuch a portion of dignity, that it was neceſſary at other times to counteract it by lowering deſcriptions and degrading compariſons. Beſides, as the courage and force of a magnanimous hero may be illuſtrated by the compariſon of a lion or a torrent, ſo may the low cunning and baſe arts of an inſidious adverſary be, with no leſs propriety, elucidated by a compariſon of an inſect or a reptile. DUNSTER.

The reader may here alſo compare Ariosto's beautiful Simile of the Flies, *Orl. Fur.* C. xiv. ſt. cix. TODD.

Ver. 18. *Or ſurging waves againſt a ſolid rock,*
Though all to ſhivers daſh'd, the aſſault renew,] There can be but one opinion reſpecting this ſimile. "It preſents," ſays Mr. Thyer, "to the reader's mind an image which not only fills and ſatisfies the imagination, but alſo perfectly expreſſes both the unmoved ſtedfaſtneſs of our Saviour, and the fruſtrated baffled attempts of Satan." We may trace a reſemblance of it, where Vida deſcribes the vain attempts of the Arch-Fiend, in the Temptation of our bleſſed Lord, *Chriſtiad.* iv. 628.

——————" Haud deſtitit hoſtis
" Congreſſu victus primo, pugnámque retentat,
" Atque aliis ſuper atque aliis aſſultibus inſtat,
" Térque novos, ſemper cœpti irritus, integrat aſtus,
" Nequicquam nunc regnorum, nunc laudis, inani
" Immotum tentans animum pervertere amore.
" Ut, cum ſollicitum tollunt mare fluctibus Euri,
" Crebra ferit, ſævitque minaci murmure in alta
" Littora, ſed *ſaxis alliſa revertitur unda.*"

We may alſo compare the following ſtanza of Giles Fletcher's *Chriſt's Triumph over Death.*

" So have I ſeen a rock's heroick breaſt,
" Againſt proud Neptune, that his ruin threats,

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So Satan, whom repulſe upon repulſe
Met ever, and to ſhameful ſilence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though deſperate of ſucceſs,
And his vain importunity purſues.
He brought our Saviour to the weſtern ſide
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,

" When all his waves he hath to battle preſt,
" And with a thouſand ſwelling billows beats
" The ſtubborn ſtone, and foams and chafes and frets
" To heave him from his root, unmoved ſtand,
" And more in heaps the barking *ſurges* land,
" The more *in pieces beat* fly weeping to the ſtrand."

And we may trace all theſe later poets to Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 586, as we may Virgil himſelf to Homer, *Il.* xv. 618.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 18. —— *ſurging waves*] This is a frequent expreſſion in our old poetry. Thus in the *Hiſtorie of Sir Clyomon*, 1599.

" Here by the ſea of *ſurging waues*."

Again, in Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, 1629.

" The frothy ſomes of Neptune's *ſurging waues*."

See alſo Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xvi. p. 252, edit. 1622, and Niccols's *Mir. for Mag.* p. 861, edit. 1610. But Milton perhaps had here in mind both the phraſe and the ſimile, as they ſtand in Harington's *Orlando Furioſo*, c. xlv. ſt. 70.

" Nor better doth a *rocke* indure the ſtroke
" Of *ſurging waues*, ſtill wallowing to the land." TODD.

Ver. 27. *Another plain*, &c.] The learned reader need not be informed that the country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long but not broad, and is waſhed by the Mediterranean on the ſouth, and ſcreened by the Alps on the north, and divided in the midſt by the river Tiber. NEWTON.

The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps, but the Apennines which divide the ſouth-weſt part of Italy from the north-weſt; and in which the river Tiber has its ſource. The

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Waſh'd by the ſouthern ſea, and, on the north,
To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills
That ſcreen'd the fruits of the earth, and ſeats of men,
From cold Septentrion blaſts; thence in the midſt
Divided by a river, of whoſe banks
On each ſide an imperial city ſtood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate
On ſeven ſmall hills, with palaces adorn'd,

plain, contained between theſe hills and the Mediterranean ſea, conſiſts of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania; the two latter being divided from the former by the courſe of the Tiber. DUNSTER.

Ver. 34. *With towers and temples proudly elevate* &c.] Thus Spenſer, in his *Ruins of Time*, where Verulam, comparing herſelf with Rome, deſcribes "the beauty of her buildings fair;"

"High *towers*, fair *temples*, goodly *theatres*,
"Strong walls, rich *porches*, princely *palaces*,
"Large ſtreets, brave houſes, ſacred ſepulchres,
"Sure gates, ſweet *gardens*, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. *On* ſeven *ſmall* hills,] Thus Virgil, *Georgic.* ii. 535, ſpeaking of Rome, "*Septémque* una ſibi muro circumdedit *arces*." NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *with* palaces *adorn'd*,
Porches, *and* theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, *and* trophies, *and triumphal* arcs,] The *palaces* were a ſubject of immenſe expence and grandeur. Clodius, the antagoniſt of Milo, even in the times of the republick, dwelt in a houſe that coſt near one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of our money. We may form ſome judgment of the ſize and extent of the Roman palaces, from what is ſaid of them by the writers of the Auguſtan age. Salluſt mentions "domos et villas *in urbium modum exædificatas*." Bell. Catilin. 12. Seneca alſo ſpeaks in the ſame manner of the private houſes in his time; "ædificia privata *laxitatem urbium magnarum vincentia*." De Benefic. vii. 10, and Epiſt. xc. he notices "domos *inſtar urbium*."

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Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,

The *Porches* or *Porticos* also were an article of immense magnificence at Rome. They were elevated structures of great extent; and were much resorted to for shade in summer, and for dryness in winter. Martial speaks of the Claudian Portico, *De Spectac. Ep.* ii. 9. and describes the famous Portico of Cn. Octavius, in the Circus Flaminius, L. ii. *Ep.* xiv. Ovid notices the Pompeian, Octavian, and Livian Porticos, *De Art. Amand.* i. 67, &c. As Roman luxury rose to its height, private persons had their porticos. Paterculus having spoken of the publick porticos, adds: "publicam magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est." L. ii. C. i.

The *Theatres*, in which we may include the *Amphitheatres*, *Circi*, and *Naumachiæ*, were conspicuous objects among the magnificent buildings of Rome. They were at first only temporary buildings, but were erected sometimes at an incredible expence. Pliny describes very particularly one built by M. Scaurus, the son-in-law of Sylla, which he terms "opus maximum omnium quæ umquam fuere humanâ manu facta." L. xxxvi. C. 15. Pompey was the first person who built a fixed theatre; see Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. C. xx. Permanent theatres of a great extent soon became frequent. Some remains of those built by Marcellus, and Statilius Taurus, are still to be seen; as well as that of Tiberius.

The great extent of the Roman publick *Baths* may be judged of by the ruins now remaining of those of Caracalla and Diocletian. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of baths at Rome "in modum provinciarum extructa," (L. xvi. C. 10;) where, however, Valesius judiciously suggests the reading *piscinarum* rather than *provinciarum*. Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, says, v. 102. "Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus." The *baths* even of private persons were very lofty buildings, and were ornamented in the most superb style. Juvenal, speaking of the expences of private persons in whatever gratified their own luxury, specifies particularly their *baths* and *porticos*, Sat. vii. 178. Seneca particularly notices this absurd extravagance of his countrymen, in his lxxxvith epistle.

The *Aqueducts* were some of the noblest works of the Romans.

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Gardens, and groves, presented to his eyes,

Frontinus, in his Treatise *de Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ*, affirms them to have been "magnitudinis Romani Imperii præcipuum indicium."

The passion of the Romans for *Statues* appears from the number of antique statues yet remaining at Rome, after the numerous desolations of that city. Greece, Asia, and Egypt were all plundered to ornament it with statues. Among the most conspicuous of these, on a bird's eye view of the city, were the colossal images of some of their emperours, standing on superb columns. Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, notices the "elatos vertices, qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes." These may be supposed the statues which the poet here intends.

Rutilius notices the numberless *Trophies* which decorated every part of the city of Rome, *Itinerar.* 91, &c. Milton had here perhaps in his mind the trophies now remaining in the front of the Capitol, thought to be the Cimbrick trophies of Marius.

The *Arches* erected in honour of eminent persons were in the early ages of Rome rude structures. That of Camillus was of plain stone. But those of Cæsar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and others, were of marble, and many of them ornamented with statues, trophies, and the most curious sculpture; particularly those of Titus and Constantine. DUNSTER.

All these articles of grandeur and expence, both publick and private, are recorded, and minutely illustrated, by Hakewill, in his *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, through several sections of a chapter entitled, "Of the Romans excessiue luxurie in building." Milton's *triumphal arcs* may have been taken from Spenser's Verses, prefixed to the *Historie of G. Castriot*, &c. 1596.

"Their rich *triumphall arcks* which they did raise."

See also Daniel's *Civil Wars*, &c.

"*Triumphant arcs* of perdurable might." TODD.

Ver. 38. *Gardens, and groves,*] The extravagance of the Romans in these articles of luxury, was carried to a ridiculous height. They planted "*gardens* and orchards and *groues* vpon

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Above the highth of mountains interpos'd:
(By what ſtrange parallax, or optick ſkill
Of viſion, multiplied through air, or glaſs
Of teleſcope, were curious to enquire:)

their houſe toppes; therein like Antipodes running a contrary courſe to nature, as Seneca truly and juſtly taxes them, *Epiſt.* 122." Hakewill's *Apologie* &c. in the chapter, entitled "Their [the Romans] prodigall ſumptuouſneſſe in their private buildings, in regard of the largeneſſe and height of their houſes, as alſo in regard of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pauement full of art and coſt," p. 404. Compare ver. 58, &c. TODD.

Ver. 40. (*By what ſtrange parallax, or optick ſkill*
Of viſion, multiplied through air, or glaſs
Of teleſcope,] The learned have been very idly buſy in contriving the manner in which Satan ſhowed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some ſuppoſe it was done by viſion; others by Satan's creating phantaſms or ſpecies of different kingdoms, and preſenting them to our Saviour's ſight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in ſumming up the various opinions upon this ſubject gives it in theſe words: "Alii ſubtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæmon per multa ſpecula ſibi invicem objecta ſpecies regnorum ex uno ſpeculo in aliud et aliud continuò reflexerit, idque fecerit uſque ad oculos Chriſti." In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton's works. But Wolfius, in his *Curæ philologicæ in SS. Evangelia*, fathers this whim upon him: "Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad inſtrumenta artis opticæ ſe recipiunt." Vid. Wolf. in *Matt.* iv. 8. THYER.

The learned Bochart has a Diſſertation on this ſubject; the following paſſage of which might here have been in Milton's recollection. "Eo uſque progreditur hominum induſtria, ut inſtrumentis quibuſdam opticis, teleſcopiis, microſcopiis, et ſpeculis, &c. remotiſſima quæque oculis ſubjiciat, minutiſſima quævis adducat in conſpectum, objectorum ſitum prorſus immutet,

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And now the Tempter thus his ſilence broke.
The city, which thou ſeeſt, no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown'd, and with the ſpoils enrich'd
Of nations; there the Capitol thou ſeeſt,
Above the reſt lifting his ſtately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable; and there mount Palatine,
The imperial palace, compaſs huge, and high
The ſtructure, ſkill of nobleſt architects,

adeo ut poſteriora anterius, inferius ſuperiora cernantur. Nullatenus profecto dubitandum quin longe major ſit Diaboli in objectis admovendis, amplificandis, ſuo ſitu emovendis, &c. vis ac ſolertia; cum pro tubis opticis aut ſpeculis bipedalibus, vel tripedalibus, quibus ſolemus uti, ille præſto nubes habeat, quas ex arbitrio, tanquam aeris princeps, fingit ac uſurpat." Tom. i. p. 949. DUNSTER.

Ver. 45. —— *great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,*] See *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 405. And thus Propertius terms Rome, L. iii. *El.* 10. " Septem urbs alta jugis, *quæ toti præſidet orbi.*" Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, where he deſcribes himſelf quitting Rome, thus begins a moſt affectionate valedictory addreſs to her, L. i. 47.

" Exaudi, *regina tui pulcherrima mundi.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 46. —————— *with the ſpoils enrich'd*
Of nations;] This refers to the immenſe ſums carried to Rome, and depoſited in the treaſury by their generals; and to what was amaſſed by the fines which the Romans arbitrarily ſet upon other ſtates and kingdoms, as the price of their friendſhip. Lucan, where he relates the plundering of the treaſury by Julius Cæſar, particularly deſcribes the ſpoils and treaſures accumulated by theſe rulers of the world, *Pharſal.* iii. 155, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 50. —————— *there mount Palatine,*
The imperial palace, compaſs huge, and high
The ſtructure,] In the following paſſage from

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With gilded battlements conſpicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces, and glittering ſpires:
Many a fair edifice beſides, more like
Houſes of gods, (ſo well I have diſpos'd

Claudian we may perhaps trace ſomething like the groundwork of this deſcription of Rome, *De VI. Conſ. Hon.* 35.

" Ecce *Palatino* crevit reverentia *monti*,
" Exſultátque habitante Deo, potioráque Delphis
" Supplicibus late populis oracula pandit;
" Atque ſuas ad ſigna jubet revireſcere laurus.
" Non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis
" Eſſe larem, nullóque magis ſe colle poteſtas
" Æſtimat, et ſummi ſentit faſtigia juris.
" *Attollens apicem* ſubjectis regia roſtris
" Tot circum delubra videt, tantiſque Deorum
" Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis
" Cernere *Tarpeia* pendentes *rupe* Gigantas,
" Cælatáſque fores, mediiſque volantia ſigna
" Nubibus, et denſum ſtipantibus æthera templis,
" Æráque veſtitis numeroſa puppe columnis
" Conſita, ſubnixáſque jugis immanibus ædes,
" Naturam cumulante manu; ſpoliiſque micantes
" Innumeros arcus. Acies ſtupet igne metalli,
" Et circumfuſo trepidans obtunditur auro." DUNSTER.

Ver. 54. *Turrets, and terraces,*] Mr. Dunſter remarks, that Milton here ſeems to have blended the old *Engliſh* caſtle with his *Roman view*. And Mr. Warton thinks that Milton was impreſſed with this idea from his vicinity to Windſor caſtle. See *Comus*, ver. 934. However, in both paſſages, eſpecially in this before us, Milton has imitated Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. ix. 21.

—— " they a ſtately *pallace* did behold
" Of pompous ſhow, much more then ſhe had told,
" With many TOWRES and TARRAS mounted *hye*,
" And all their *tops bright gliſtering with gold*,
" That ſeem'd to outſhine &c." TODD.

Ver. 56. *Houſes of* gods,] This is the true reading. Some editions read " Houſes of *God*." TODD.

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My aery microſcope,) thou may'ſt behold,
Outſide and inſide both, pillars and roofs,
Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,
In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.
Thence to the gates caſt round thine eye, and ſee
What conflux iſſuing forth, or entering in;
Prætors, proconſuls to their provinces
Haſting, or on return, in robes of ſtate,
Lictors and rods, the enſigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horſe and wings:
Or embaſſies from regions far remote,

Ver. 58. *Outſide and inſide both,*] So Menippus, in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus*, could ſee clearly and diſtinctly, from the moon, cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors, and within*, where they thought themſelves moſt ſecret. Καλαχύψας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑώρων ζαφῶς τὰς πόλεις, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ὃ τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπόσα οἴκοι ἔπραττον, οἰόμενοι λανθάνειν. Luciani Opp. vol. ii. p. 197. Edit. Græv. CALTON.

Ver. 63. *Prætors, proconſuls to their provinces*
Haſting, or on return, in robes of ſtate, &c.] The rapacity of the Roman provincial governours, and their eagerneſs to take poſſeſſion of their *prey*, is here ſtrongly marked by the word *haſting*. Their pride and vanity was not leſs than their rapacity, and was diſplayed not only in their triumphs, but in their magiſterial ſtate upon all occaſions. The pride and ſtate of the Roman magiſtrates is noticed by Salluſt, who alſo refers to their infamouſly rapacious conduct;—" incedunt per ora veſtra magnifice ſacerdotia et conſulatus, pars triumphos ſuos oſtentantes: perinde quaſi ea honori, non *prædæ*, habeant." *Bell. Jugurth.* C. 31. DUNSTER.

Ver. 66. ——— ——— turms] *Troops* of horſe, a word coined from the Latin, *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* v. 560. " equitum *turmæ*." NEWTON.

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In various habits, on the Appian road,
Or on the Emilian; ſome from fartheſt ſouth,
Syene, and where the ſhadow both way falls, 70

Ver. 68. ——————— *on the Appian road,*
Or on the Æmilian;] The Appian road from Rome led towards the ſouth of Italy, and the Æmilian towards the north. The nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69—76, thoſe on the Æmilian in ver. 77—79. NEWTON.

Ver. 69. ——————— *ſome from fartheſt ſouth,*
Syene,] Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors, that *Syene* was the limit of the Roman Empire, and the remoteſt place to the ſouth that belonged to it. Or it may be ſaid that poets have not ſcrupled to give the epithets *extremi, ultimi,* to any people that lived a great way off; and that poſſibly Milton intended fartheſt ſouth to be ſo applied both to *Syene* and to *Meroe.* JORTIN.

He firſt mentions places in *Africa; Syene,* a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia; "Ditionis Ægypti eſſe incipit a fine Æthiopiæ Syene;" Plin. Lib. v. Sect. 9.; *Meroe,* an iſland and city of Ethiopia, in the river Nile, therefore called *Nilotick iſle, where the ſhadow both way falls;* "Rurſus in Meroe, (inſula hæc capútque gentis Æthiopum—in amne Nilo habitatur,) bis anno abſumi umbras;" Plin. Lib. ii. Sect. 73.; *the realm of Bocchus,* Mauritania. Then *Aſian* nations; among theſe *the golden Cherſoneſe,* Malacca the moſt ſouthern promontory of the Eaſt-Indies, (ſee *Paradiſe Loſt,* B. xi. 392;) *and utmoſt Indian iſle Taprobane,* wherefore Pliny ſays it is "extra orbem a natura relegata;" Lib. vi. Sect. 22. Then the *Europeans* nations as far as to *the Taurick pool,* that is the palus Mæotis; "Lacus ipſe Mæotis, Tanain amnem ex Riphæis montibus defluentem accipiens, noviſſimum inter Europam Aſiámque finem, &c." Plin. Lib. iv. Sect. 12. NEWTON.

The deſcription here, ſeems governed by the cardinal points. It firſt looks *ſouthward,* to Africa; then *eaſtward,* to Aſia; then *weſtward,* to France, Spain, and the Britiſh Iſlands; then *northward,* to Germany, ancient Scythia, and the moſt northern European nations. Milton ſeems alſo to have had in view

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Meroe, Nilotick iſle; and, more to weſt,
The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor ſea;
From the Aſian kings, and Parthian among theſe;
From India and the golden Cherſoneſe,
And utmoſt Indian iſle Taprobane,
Duſk faces with white ſilken turbans wreath'd;
From Gallia, Gades, and the Britiſh weſt;

Martial's Epigram, De Gentium Confluxu et Congratulatione, *Lib. De Spectac.* Ep. iii. DUNSTER.

Ver. 73. ——— *and Parthian among theſe;*] The Tempter having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the immenſe forces of the Parthians and their military preparations and ſkill, now endeavours to impreſs upon him a ſenſe of the great power of the Roman Empire. This is diſplayed in the embaſſies of diſtant and powerful nations, among whom we find the Parthians, who are thus made to bow the head to the Genius of Rome. DUNSTER.

Ver. 76. *Duſk faces with white ſilken turbans wreath'd;*] I have been told that a truly reſpectable prelate, whoſe taſte and literary acquirements are of the firſt eminence, has noticed this verſe as one of the moſt picturesque lines that he had ever met with in poetry: almoſt every word conveys a diſtinct idea, and generally one of great effect. Prudentius has a paſſage not diſſimilar, *Hamartigen.* 499.

——— " decolor Indus
" Tempora pinnatis redimitus nigra ſagittis."

See Taſſo, of the Æthiopians, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvii. 94.

——" per batteſmo delle *nere fronte.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 77. ——— *Gades,*] The old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal ſea-port of Spain, without the ſtraits of Gibraltar; and is here put to ſignify the part of Spain moſt diſtant from Rome; which the Romans diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Hiſpania ulterior.* DUNSTER.

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Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.
All nations now to Rome obedience pay;
To Rome's great emperour, whose wide domain,
In ample territory, wealth, and power,
Civility of manners, arts, and arms,
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
Before the Parthian. These two thrones except,

Ver. 78. *Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.*] The Danube was the southern boundary of ancient Germany. From the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis, all along the shores of the Euxine Sea, lay the European Scythians, and beyond them northward, the Sauromatæ, Sarmatæ, or Sarmatians. All the intermixed nations seem at the time of the Christian Æra to have been so far swallowed up in these two, as to have ranked under the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians; which names ancient historians have much confounded. These two nations extended themselves very far north. Cluverius says, that Sarmatia reached quite to the Northern Ocean; which was thence called *Oceanus Sarmaticus*. Juvenal joins the Sarmatians with this ocean, *Sat.* ii. 1, 2. Milton may therefore be understood, in this description, as meaning to comprehend all the European nations from the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the Northern Ocean. DUNSTER.

Ver. 84. ——— *thou justly may'st prefer Before the Parthian.*] The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, B. iii. 363.

——— " the Parthian first
" By my advice:"

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light. NEWTON.

There appears to me here no inconsistency whatever. What is here said rather marks the great and accomplished art of the

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The reſt are barbarous, and ſcarce worth the fight,
Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd;
Theſe having ſhown thee, I have ſhown thee all

tempter, than indicates a "ſhuffling." Satan only varies the attack, by changing the ground on which it had not been ſucceſsful. His manner of doing it is perfectly plauſible. "You," ſays he, "may very poſſibly prefer an alliance with the Romans, whoſe power and ſplendour I have juſt diſplayed, to one with the Parthians; and you judge wiſely in ſo doing." DUNSTER.

Yet, to ſay that Chriſt might *juſtly* prefer an alliance with the Roman, after he had ſaid that by the Parthian he ſhould

——————"regain, *without him not*,
"That which alone could truly re-inſtall him
"In David's ſeat,"—

argues, I think, in the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the expreſſion, *a liar traced*, as the Angel denominates him in *Par. Loſt.*—It is in character, however, for the Tempter to recommend the wealth and grandeur of Rome to our Lord's notice. Porphyry ſays, that the devils always endeavoured to entice men to worſhip them *by magnificent promiſes of riches and glory*. See Elſner in *Mat.* iv. 8, 9. Compare also B. iii. 25, and Mr. Thyer's note on the paſſage. TODD.

Ver. 88. —————— *I have ſhown thee all*
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.] The Poet in the preceding Book had diſplayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this Book he ſhows and deſcribes Imperial Rome, the "Queen of the Earth," in all her magnificence of ſplendour and pride of power; and introduces the reſt of the world as ſubject to her, doing homage to her greatneſs, and ſuing to her with embaſſies. Thus admirably has he depicted "the kingdoms of the world, and all their glory," in the great and principal empire of the Heathen world: very judiciouſly alſo and with conſiderable effect has he wound up his extended and highly finiſhed deſcription, by recurring to the *brief* account in ſcripture of the Devil ſhowing our Lord *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.* Mat. iv. DUNSTER.

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The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
This emperour hath no ſon, and now is old,
Old and laſcivious, and from Rome retir'd.
To Capreæ, an iſland ſmall, but ſtrong,
On the Campanian ſhore, with purpoſe there
His horrid luſts in private to enjoy;
Committing to a wicked favourite
All publick cares, and yet of him ſuſpicious;
Hated of all, and hating. With what eaſe,
Endued with regal virtues, as thou art,
Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
Might'ſt thou expel this monſter from his throne,
Now made a ſtye; and, in his place aſcending,

Ver. 90. *This emperour* &c.] This account of the emperour *Tiberius* retiring from Rome to the iſland *Capreæ*, and there enjoying his horrid luſts in private, and in the mean while committing the government to his *wicked favourite* and miniſter *Sejanus*, together with the character of this emperour; is perfectly agreeable to the Roman hiſtories, and particularly to thoſe of Suetonius and Tacitus, who have painted this *monſter*, as Milton calls him, in ſuch colours, as he deſerved to be deſcribed in, to poſterity. NEWTON.

Ver. 95. ——— *a wicked favourite*] Our poet, I dare ſay, read, with great diſpleaſure and diſguſt, the fulſome praiſes that Paterculus has diſgraced himſelf by laviſhing on Sejanus in the ſecond book of his hiſtory. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 100. ——— *this monſter*] Thus Cicero, ſpeaking of Catiline; "nulla jam pernicies a *monſtro illo* atque prodigio mœnibus ipſis intra mœnia comparabitur." 2. *In Catilin.* 1. DUNSTER.

See alſo Juvenal, *Sat.* iv. 2.

——" *Monſtrum* nullâ virtute redemptum
" A vitiis, æger, ſolâque *libidine* fortis." TODD.

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A victor people free from servile yoke!
And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
Aim therefore at no less than all the world;
Aim at the highest: without the highest attain'd,
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophesied what will.

To whom the Son of God, unmov'd, replied.
Nor doth this grandeur and majestick show
Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts

Ver. 103. ——————— to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.] "All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; *for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it.*" Luke iv. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 114. *Their sumptuous* gluttonies, *and* gorgeous feasts] The poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius cap. 13, of the *sumptuous gluttonies of Vitellius*; or the immense sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius, of which see Seneca, *De Consolat. Ad. Helv.* cap. 10. DUNSTER.

This line of *Paradise Regained* might perhaps have been dictated by a passage in *Comus*, v. 776.

——————" swinish *Gluttony*
" Ne'er looks to Heaven amidst his *gorgeous feast*."

And what follows relating to the feasts of the Romans, might be suggested by the similar, but more diffuse, remarks of an author, whose deeply learned labours could not but be highly gratifying to the inquisitive mind of Milton. See Hakewill's *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, edit. 1630. Lib. iv.

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On citron tables or Atlantick ſtone, 115
(For I have alſo heard, perhaps have read,)

Cap 6. Sect. 6. " Of the coſtlineſſe and curious workemanſhippe of the veſſels out of which they [the Romans] dranke, which was likewiſe a meanes to draw them on to exceſſive drinking. Cap. 7. Of the exceſſiue gluttony of the Romanes. Sect. 1. Of their coſtly tables, their huge platters, &c." See alſo the notes, P. R. B. ii. 180, 353, &c. and my account of the life of Milton. TODD.

Ver. 115. *On citron tables or Atlantick ſtone,*] Tables made of *citron* wood were in ſuch requeſt among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *menſarum inſania.* They were beautifully veined and ſpotted. See his account of them, Lib. xiii. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantick ſtone* or marble was ſo celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman authors. NEWTON.

This citron wood, which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania, was held by the Romans equally valuable with gold, if not ſuperiour to it. Hence Martial, L. xiv. *Ep.* lxxxvii.

" Accipe felices, *Atlantica* munera, ſylvas:
" Aurea qui dederit, dona minora dabit."

And Varro, De R. R. iii. 2. " Nuncubi hic vides *citrum, aut aurum.*" Citron tables are mentioned by Lucan in his deſcription of the gorgeous feaſt given by Cleopatra to Cæſar, *Pharſal.* x. 144.

" Dentibus hìc niveis *fectos Atlantide ſylvâ*
" Impoſuere *orbes.*"

Milton could not mean to celebrate any marble under the name of " Atlantick ſtone;" for it does not appear that the Romans ever uſed marble for tables. *Atlantick* muſt therefore have a reference to this citron wood, which is ſaid to have grown no where but upon Mount Atlas. It might perhaps be called " Atlantick *marble*" or " *ſtone,*" from its marble-like appearance; being curiouſly veined and ſpotted. DUNSTER.

The old ſcholiaſt on Horace, Sat. i. vi. 116, mentions a particular kind of *marble* table, however, in uſe among the Romans, called " menſa Delphica." TODD.

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Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
Cryſtal, and myrrhine cups, emboſs'd with gems
And ſtuds of pearl; to me ſhould'ſt tell, who thirſt

Ver. 117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,*
Chios, and Crete,] The three former were of the moſt famous Campanian wines among the Romans. The *Falernian* was commonly conſidered as their prime wine. Hence Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 96.

——— " nec cellis ideo contende *Falernis.*"

And Tibullus, ſpeaking of the Falernian diſtrict, terms it " Bacchi cura, *Falernus* ager." L. i. *El.* 9. Martial ſpeaks of *Setia*, now *Sezza*, famous for its wine, and its ſituation on the brow of a hill, L. xiii. *Ep.* 112. See alſo L. x. *Ep.* 74. And Horace ſpeaks of the *Calenian* wine as a luxury of the higheſt kind, *Od.* I. xxxi. 9. Pliny, ſpeaking of the wines imported into Italy, ſays, " in ſummâ gloria fuerunt Thaſium *Chiumque.* Ex Chio quod Arviſium vocant." xiv. 7. See alſo Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 71, and Silius Italicus, lib. vii. 210. Horace places the *Chian* among the rich wines in the miſer's cellar, *Sat.* II. iii. 115; he likewiſe alludes to the high eſtimation in which this wine was held, *Ode* III. xix. 5. The wines of *Crete* are joined with thoſe of Chios or Scios, by Taſſo, *Gieruſal. Lib.* i. 78. And *Cretan* wine is mentioned, together with the *Chian* and other celebrated wines of Greece, by Ælian, *Var. Hiſt.* xii. 31. DUNSTER.

Ver. 118. ——— *how they quaff in gold,*
Cryſtal, and myrrhine cups, emboſs'd with gems
And ſtuds of pearl;] *Cryſtal* and *myrrhine* cups are often joined together by ancient authors. " Murrhina et cryſtallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipſa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria exiſtimata eſt, habere quod poſſet ſtatim totum perire." Plin. Lib. xxxiii. *Proem.* We ſee that Pliny reckons *myrrhine* cups among foſſils: Scaliger, Salmaſius, and others, contend from this verſe of Propertius, iv. 26.

" Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis,"

that they were like our porcelain: but if they were ſo very

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And hunger ſtill. Then embaſſies thou ſhow'ſt
From nations far and nigh: what honour that,
But tedious waſte of time, to ſit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,

fragile as they are repreſented to be, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could be *emboſs'd with gems and ſtuds of pearl.* I ſuppoſe our author aſſerted it from the words immediately following in Pliny; "Nec hoc fuit ſatis: turba gemmarum potamus, et ſmaragdis teximus calices: ac temulentiæ cauſa tenere Indiam juvat: et aurum jam acceſſio eſt." Or perhaps the words, *emboſs'd with gems*, &c. refer only to *gold* firſt mentioned, which is no unuſual conſtruction: *They quaff in gold emboſs'd with gems and ſtuds of pearl.* NEWTON.

Hakewill, in his *Apologie* &c., may here again be cited. Sect. 6. as in the note on ver. 114. He is tranſlating Pliny: "When the toy takes vs in the head, all our delight is in chaſed and *embоſſed* plate, or elſe ſo carved, engraven, and deepe cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, &c." Then Hakewill adds, "Theſe *celatures* in their drinking cups were ſo fram'd, that they might put them on or take them off at pleaſure, and were therefore called *emblemata*. Such was that whereof the ſatyriſt [Juvenal] ſpeaks, *ſtantem extra pocula caprum*, 'a goat ſtanding out from the cup.'—Sometimes were they made of *onix* ſtones drawne out of the mountaines of Arabia; ſometimes of mother of pearle, or ſome rare pretious ſhels. And all theſe kindes they *richly inamel'd with pearles* and pretious ſtones."

Compare a moſt beautiful paſſage in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſland*, c. i. ſt. 26.

"That they may *drink in pearl*, and couch their head
"In ſoft, but ſleepleſſe down; in rich, but reſtleſſe bed."

Then follows, in the 27th ſtanza, which Mr. Dunſter alſo notes,

"Oh! let them *in their gold quaffe* dropſies down." TODD.

Ver. 124. *So many hollow compliments and lies,*
Outlandiſh flatteries?] Poſſibly not without an alluſion to the congratulatory embaſſies on the Reſtoration.
DUNSTER.

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Outlandiſh flatteries? Then proceed'ſt to talk
Of the emperour, how eaſily ſubdued,
How glorioufly: I ſhall, thou ſay'ſt, expel
A brutiſh monſter; what if I withal
Expel a Devil who firſt made him ſuch?
Let his tormenter conſcience find him out;
For him I was not ſent; nor yet to free
That people, victor once, now vile and baſe;
Deſervedly made vaſſal; who, once juſt,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
But govern ill the nations under yoke,
Peeling their provinces, exhauſted all

Ver. 130. *Let his tormenter conſcience find him out;*] Milton, as Dr. Jortin obſerves, had here in his mind Tacitus, who, having related the extraordinary letters written by Tiberius to the Senate, adds; "Adeo facinora atque flagitia ſua ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant. Neque fruſtra præſtantiſſimus ſapientiæ firmare ſolitus eſt, ſi recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitiâ, libidine, malis conſultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur." *Annal.* vi. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 132. *That people, victor once, now vile and baſe*; &c.] This deſcription of the corruption and decline of the Roman empire, contained in this and the following ten lines, is at once concifely fine, and accurately juſt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 136. Peeling &c.] *Peeling* is *pillaging* their provinces; which is ſpelt *pilling* by Chaucer, Spenſer, and other old Engliſh poets. See alſo Barret's *Alvearie*, 1584: "To *pill* or *poll*." But Sir R. Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1641, affords the beſt illuſtration of Milton's expreſſion, where, ſpeaking of the Earl of Leiceſter's father, he ſays, "his eſtate confiſcate, and that for *peeling* and polling." The word *peeled* for *pillaged* is uſed by our tranſlators of the Bible. See *Iſaiah* xviii. 2. "Go,

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By luſt and rapine; firſt ambitious grown
Of triumph, that inſulting vanity;
Then cruel, by their ſports to blood inur'd

ye ſwift meſſengers to a nation ſcattered and *peeled.*" Hakewill has a very curious ſection on the conduct of the Romans here noticed by Milton, entitled "Their unmerciful *pilling* and poling, *robbing and ſpoyling the provinces*, not ſparing the very temples and things ſacred." Lib. iv. cap. 5. Sect. 3. TODD.

Ver. 139. *Then cruel, by their ſports to blood inur'd*
Of fighting beaſts, and men to beaſts expos'd;
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier ſtill,
And from the daily ſcene effeminate.] The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy, has been often remarked in all ages. Athenæus notices the cruelty of the people of Miletus as connected with their luxury; and, ſpeaking of ſome Scythian nations, he deſcribes them advancing in cruelty, in proportion as they plunged themſelves in luxury and effeminacy, καὶ πρῶτοι ἐπὶ ΤΟ ΤΡΥΦΑΝ ὁρμήσαντες, εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθον ὕβρεως, ὥστε πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς οὓς ἀφίκοιντο ἠκροτηριάζον τὰς ῥῖνας. p. 525. Ed. Caſaub. The Ionians are deſcribed by the ſame author as "devoid of philanthropy, chearfulneſs, and even natural affection, and ſhewing upon all occaſions a diſpoſition of the moſt unfeeling kind;" and at the ſame time he notices "their habits of luxury and effeminacy," τὰ Ἰώνων ἤθη τρυφερώτερα. p. 625. Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together in the character of Otho. Having ſpoken of Vitellius as "ventre et gula ſibi ipſi hoſtis," he adds, "Otho, *luxu*, *ſævitia*, audaciâ, reipublicæ exitioſior ducebatur." *Hiſt.* ii. 31. The effeminacy of the Romans, as luxury advanced, became a ſubject of complaint and cenſure to all their moraliſts and hiſtorians. "Miramur," ſays Columella, "geſtus effœminatorum, quod a naturâ ſexum viris denegatum muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiántque oculos ſpectantium." L. i. Nero aſſumed the dreſs and behaviour of a woman, and was actually ſeveral times married, with much oſtentation of the nuptial rites, to ſeveral of his minions. Eliogabalus imitated his example in this, and in other diſgraceful inſtances. Milton probably alluded to ſome of theſe circumſtances in the Roman hiſtory. DUNSTER.

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Of fighting beaſts, and men to beaſts expos'd; 140
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier ſtill,
And from the daily ſcene effeminate.
What wiſe and valiant man would ſeek to free
Theſe, thus degenerate, by themſelves enſlav'd?
Or could of inward ſlaves make outward free?

The poet, in his *Hiſtory of England*, at the concluſion, thus ſpeaks of the diſſolute life of the Engliſh: "The great men given to *gluttony* and *diſſolute life*—the meaner ſort ſpent all they had in *drunkenneſs*—attended with other *vices* which *effeminate* men's minds." TODD.

Ver. 140. *Of* fighting beaſts, *and men to beaſts expos'd;*] The *fighting beaſts* are a poor inſtance of the Roman cruelty in their ſports, in compariſon of the gladiators; who might have been introduced ſo naturally and eaſily here, only by putting the word *gladiators* in place of the other two, that one may very well be ſurpriſed at the poet's omitting them. See Seneca's viith Epiſtle. CALTON.

Beaſt-fights were exhibited among the Romans with great variety. Sometimes, by bringing water into the amphitheatre, even ſea-monſters were introduced for the purpoſe of combating with wild beaſts. This is mentioned by Calphurnius, *Ecl.* vii. 65. The men that fought with wild beaſts were called *beſtiarii*. Theſe were principally condemned perſons; although there were ſome who hired themſelves like *gladiators*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 141. *Luxurious by their wealth*, &c.] Manilius, iv. 10.

"Luxuriamque lucris emimus, luxuque rapinas."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *Or could of inward ſlaves make outward free?*] This noble ſentiment Milton explains more fully, and expreſſes more diffuſely, in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. xii. 90.

——— "therefore ſince he permits
"Within himſelf unworthy powers to reign
"Over free reaſon, God in judgement juſt
"Subjects him from without to violent lords; &c."

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Know therefore, when my ſeaſon comes to ſit
On David's throne, it ſhall be like a tree

So alſo again, in his xiith *Sonnet*,

" Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
" *For who loves that, muſt firſt be wiſe and good.*"

No one had ever more refined notions of true liberty than Milton, and I have often thought that there never was a greater proof of the weakneſs of human nature, than that he, with a head ſo clear, and a heart, I really believe, perfectly honeſt and diſintereſted, ſhould concur in ſupporting ſuch a tyrant and profeſſed trampler upon the liberties of his country, as Cromwell was. THYER.

The following citation, from a truly philoſophical work, may be no improper comment on this paſſage of Milton. " Were a nation given to be moulded by a ſovereign, as clay is put into the hands of the potter, this project of beſtowing liberty on a people who are actually ſervile, is perhaps of all others the moſt difficult, and requires moſt to be executed in ſilence, and with the deepeſt reſerve. Men are qualified to receive this bleſſing, only in proportion as they are made to apprehend their own rights, and are made to reſpect the juſt pretenſions of mankind; in proportion as they are willing to ſuſtain in their own perſons the burthen of government and of national defence, and to prefer the engagements of a liberal mind to the enjoyments of ſloth, and the deluſive hopes of a ſafety purchaſed by ſubmiſſion and fear." Ferguſon *on Civil Society*, p. 6. f. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 146. *Know therefore, when my ſeaſon comes to ſit*
On David's throne, &c.] A particular manner of expreſſion, but frequent in Milton; as if he had ſaid, Know therefore when the ſeaſon comes to ſit on David's throne, that throne *ſhall be like a tree* &c. alluding to the parable of the muſtard-ſeed grown into " *a tree, ſo that the birds lodge in the branches thereof*," Matt. xiii. 32; and to, (what that parable alſo reſpects,) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great " *tree whoſe height reached unto heaven, and the ſight thereof to the end of all the earth*," Dan. iv. 11. Tertullian alſo compares the kingdom of Chriſt to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in Matt.

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Spreading and overſhadowing all the earth;
Or as a ſtone, that ſhall to pieces daſh
All monarchies beſides throughout the world;
And of my kingdom there ſhall be no end:
Means there ſhall be to this; but what the means,
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the Tempter, impudent, replied.
I ſee all offers made by me how ſlight
Thou valueſt, becauſe offer'd, and reject'ſt:
Nothing will pleaſe the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than ſtill to contradict:
On the other ſide know alſo thou, that I
On what I offer ſet as high eſteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for nought;
All theſe, which in a moment thou behold'ſt,
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,

Or as a ſtone, &c. alluding to the ſtone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, wich brake the image in pieces, and ſo this kingdom "*ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever.*" Dan. ii. 44. "*And of my kingdom there ſhall be no end:*" the very words of *Luke*, i. 33, with the only neceſſary change of the perſon. NEWTON.

There is an alluſion alſo to *Pſalm* ii. 9, which prefigures the kingdom of Chriſt triumphant over all nations: "Thou ſhalt *daſh them in pieces* like a potter's veſſel." TODD.

Ver. 157. *Nothing will pleaſe* the *difficult and nice*,] Mr. Jortin and Mr. Sympſon ſay, that perhaps we ſhould read "*thee* difficult and nice:" But I think the ictus falls better in the common reading, and the ſentence is better as a *general* obſervation. NEWTON.

And yet, by the *particular* application of *nicely* to Chriſt, in ver. 277 of this Book, the conjecture of Jortin and Sympſom ſeems ſupported. TODD.

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(For, given to me, I give to whom I pleaſe,)
No trifle; yet with this reſerve, not elſe,
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worſhip me as thy ſuperiour lord,

Ver. 166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,*
And worſhip me as thy ſuperiour lord,] In my opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the obſervation,) there is nothing in the diſpoſition and conduct of the whole poem ſo juſtly liable to cenſure, as the awkward and prepoſterous introduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter ſhould have propoſed the condition at the ſame time that he offered the gifts, as he doth in Scripture; but after his gifts had been abſolutely refuſed, to what purpoſe was it to propoſe *the impious condition*? Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon *the abominable terms* of falling down and worſhipping him, juſt after he had rejected them unclogged with any terms at all? Well might the author ſay that Satan *impudent replied*; but that doth not ſolve the objection.

NEWTON.

I differ entirely from Dr. Newton and his very able coadjutor, reſpecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet ſeems ſo far from objectionable, that I conceive this paſſage to be a ſtriking inſtance of his great judgement in arranging his work, as well as of his great ſkill in decorating it. The conduct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plauſible, and ſuch as ſeemed moſt likely to forward his deſigns. At the beginning of this Book, after repeated defeats, he is deſcribed deſperate of ſucceſs, and "flung from his hope;" but ſtill he proceeds. Upon his next attack failing, the paroxyſm of his deſperation riſes to ſuch a height, that he is completely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays himſelf and his purpoſe, by bringing forward, with the moſt intemperate indiſcretion, thoſe *abominable terms*, which, could it have been poſſible for his temptations to have ſucceeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been propoſed to our Lord. This then is the ἀναγνώρισις, or full diſcovery who Satan really was; for it muſt be obſerved, that though Jeſus in the firſt Book (ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the Tempter through his diſguiſe, ſtill the

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(Eaſily done,) and hold them all of me;
For what can leſs ſo great a gift deſerve?
Whom thus our Saviour anſwer'd with diſdain.
I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers leſs;
Now both abhor, ſince thou haſt dar'd to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition:
But I endure the time, till which expir'd
Thou haſt permiſſion on me. It is written,
The firſt of all commandments, Thou ſhalt worſhip
The Lord thy God, and only him ſhalt ſerve;
And dar'ſt thou to the Son of God propound
To worſhip thee accurs'd? now more accurs'd
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,
And more blaſphémous; which expect to rue.

Temptation proceeds in the ſame manner as if he had not known him: at leaſt our Lord's conduct is not repreſented as influenced by any ſuſpicion of an inſidious adverſary. As to *propoſing the condition together with the gifts;* this I conceive could not be done without changing the whole plan of the poem, as by puſhing the queſtion immediately to a point, it muſt have precluded the gradually progreſſive temptations which the poet ſo finely brings forward. It might perhaps have been wiſhed that the circumſtance of Satan's betraying himſelf and his purpoſe, under the irritation of defeat and deſperation, had been kept back till the ſubſequent temptation, in the highly-finiſhed deſcription of Athens with all its pride of learning and philoſophy, had been tried, and had alſo failed. But the apologetick ſpeech of Satan (ver. 196.) in which he recovers himſelf from his intemperate impetuoſity, and repairs the indiſcretion of his preſent violent irritation, ſo far as to pave the way for another temptation, is not only marked with ſuch ſingular art and addreſs as is truly admirable, but likewiſe gives a material variety and relief to this part of the poem; which I cannot wiſh to have been in any reſpect different from what it is, as I do not conceive that even Milton himſelf could have improved it. DUNSTER.

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The kingdoms of the world to thee were given?
Permitted rather, and by thee uſurp'd;
Other donation none thou canſt produce.
If given, by whom but by the King of kings,
God over all ſupreme? If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is loſt
Long ſince. Wert thou ſo void of fear or ſhame,
As offer them to me, the Son of God?
To me my own, on ſuch abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worſhip thee as God?
Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'ſt
That Evil-one, Satan for ever damn'd.
To whom the Fiend, with fear abaſh'd, replied.
Be not ſo ſore offended, Son of God,
Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men,

Ver. 185. ——————— *the King of kings,*
God over all ſupreme?] I *Tim.* vi. 15. "Who is the bleſſed and only potentate, *the King of kings, and Lord of lords.*" And "Who is *over all*, God bleſſed for ever." *Romans*, IX. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ——— *But gratitude in thee is loſt*
Long ſince.] Milton had made Satan declare "long" before, *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 109.

——————, "all good to me is loſt;
"Evil, be thou my good!" DUNSTER.

Ver. 194. *That Evil-one,*] The ὁ πονηρὸς, the pre-eminently *wicked one.* See Dr. Lort's *Short Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, in which he proves this to be one of the three names, applied to the great apoſtate Spirit in Scripture, pp. 24, 25. TODD.

Ver. 195. ——————— *with fear* abaſh'd,] He was *abaſh'd* on a former occaſion, *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 846. TODD.

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If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
What both from Men and Angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,
Nations beside from all the quarter'd winds,
God of this world invok'd, and world beneath:
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me most fatal, me it most concerns;
The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
Rather more honour left and more esteem;
Me nought advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.
And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd
Than to a worldly crown; addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute,
As by that early action may be judg'd,
When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the temple, there wast found
Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,

Ver. 203. *God of this world invok'd,*] Milton pursues the same notion which he had adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, of the Gods of the Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the heathens of worshipping devils for deities. THYER.

The devil, in Scripture, is termed "*the God of this world*," II Cor. iv. 4. DUNSTER.

Ver. 219. ——— *fitting* Moses' chair,] *Moses' chair* was the chair in which the doctors sitting expounded the law

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Teaching, not taught. The childhood ſhows the man,
As morning ſhows the day: be famous then
By wiſdom; as thy empire muſt extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
All knowledge is not couch'd in Moſes' law,
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;
The Gentiles alſo know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by Nature's light,
And with the Gentiles much thou muſt converſe,
Ruling them by perſuaſion, as thou mean'ſt;

either publickly to the people, or privately to their diſciples. "The ſcribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes' chair," ἐπὶ τῆς Μωσέως καθέδρας, *Matt.* xxiii. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 221. ——————— *be famous then*
By wiſdom;] We are now come to the laſt temptation, properly ſo called; and it is worth the reader's while to obſerve how well Satan has purſued the ſcheme which he had propoſed in council, B. ii. 225.

"Therefore with manlier objects we muſt try
"His conſtancy; with ſuch as have more ſhow
"Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praiſe."

The gradation alſo in the ſeveral allurements propoſed is very fine; and I believe one may juſtly ſay, that there never was a more exalted ſyſtem of morality compriſed in ſo ſhort a compaſs. Never were the arguments for vice dreſſed up in more deluſive colours, nor were they ever anſwered with more ſolidity of thought, or acuteneſs of reaſoning. THYER.

Ver. 230. *Ruling them by perſuaſion, as thou mean'ſt;*] Alluding to thoſe charming lines, B. i. 221.

"Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, firſt
"By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
"And make perſuaſion do the work of fear." NEWTON.

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Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold converſation meet?
How wilt thou reaſon with them, how refute
Their idoliſms, traditions, paradoxes?
Errour by his own arms is beſt evinc'd.
Look once more, ere we leave this ſpecular mount,
Weſtward, much nearer by ſouthweſt, behold;

Ver. 234. —— *idoliſms, traditions, paradoxes?*] *Idoliſms* is, I believe, a word of Milton's own fabrication. It ſeems not ſo much to mean the idolatrous worſhip of the Gentiles, as the opinions with which they might endeavour to defend it. By *traditions*, we may underſtand opinions collected from thoſe philoſophers who inſtructed publickly, without committing any of their precepts to writing; which was the caſe with Pythagoras, Numa, and Lycurgus. See the lives of the two latter by Plutarch. And *paradoxes* allude to the paradoxes of the Stoick philoſophers, then in high repute. DUNSTER.

Ver. 235. *Errour by his own arms is beſt* evinc'd.] *Evinc'd* is here uſed in its Latin ſignification of *ſubdued* or *conquered*; in which ſenſe it is more forcible and appropriate, than, as it is more commonly uſed by us, to *ſhow*, or *prove*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 236. ———— *this* ſpecular *mount*,] See Hume's note on *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 588. TODD.

Ver. 237. *Weſtward, much nearer by ſouthweſt*,] This might be underſtood W. by S. that is, one point from weſt towards ſouthweſt; which is nearly the actual poſition of Athens, with reſpect to Mount Niphates. Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occaſion to change his ſituation on the weſtern ſide of the mountain (ſee ver. 25. of this Book); but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees ſouthward of that of Rome, that he muſt now direct his view ſo much more towards the ſouthweſt, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due weſt, or in a ſmall degree northweſt of Mount Niphates. DUNSTER.

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Where on the Ægean ſhore a city ſtands,
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the ſoil;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts 240

Ver. 238. *Where on the Ægean ſhore a city ſtands,*] The following deſcription of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muſe, as was before obſerved, is too much cramped down by the argumentative caſt of his ſubject, but emerges upon every favourable occaſion; and, like the ſun from under a cloud, burſts out into the ſame bright vein o poetry, which ſhines out more frequently, though not more ſtrongly, in the *Paradiſe Loſt*. THYER.

I cannot perſuade myſelf that our author, when he ſelected his ſubject, and formed his plan, conſidered himſelf as any ways *cramped down* by it. I have no doubt that he looked forward with pleaſure to the opportunities, which he foreſaw it would afford him, of introducing this and other admirable deſcriptions; and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the *argumentative caſt* of part of his poem would give to that which is purely *deſcriptive*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. *Built nobly,*] Homer, ſpeaking of Athens, calls it *a well-built city*, Il. ii. 546.

Οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον ἰὼκτίμενον πτολίεθρον. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *pure the air, and light the ſoil;*] Attica being a mountainous country, the ſoil was light, and the air ſharp and pure; and therefore ſaid to be productive of ſharp wits.—τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὡρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδοῦσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτους ἄνδρας ἔσται. Plato in *Timæo*. p. 24. vol. 3. Ed. Serr. "Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici." Cicero, *De Fato*, 4. NEWTON.

Pure the air, and light the ſoil, Mr. Calton remarks, is from Dio Chryſoſtom. *Orat.* vii. where, ſpeaking of Attica, he ſays, εἶναι γὰρ τὴν χώραν ἁραιάν, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα κοῦφον. A variety of paſſages, which aſſert the clearneſs and pureneſs of the air of Athens, may be ſeen in Gronov. Theſaur. Gr. Antiq. *De Fortuna Atticarum*, vol. 5. p. 1696, edit. fol. 1699. TODD.

Ver. 240. *Athens*, the eye of Greece,] Demoſthenes ſomewhere calls Athens *the eye of Greece*, ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος; but I

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And eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hoſpitable, in her ſweet receſs,

cannot at preſent recollect the place. In Juſtin it is called one of the two *eyes* of Greece, Sparta being the other, (L. v. C. 8.) and Catullus (xxxii. 1.) terms Sirmio the *eye* of iſlands;

" Peninſularum Sirmio, inſularúmque
" *Ocelle.*"

But the metaphor is more properly applied to *Athens* than any other place, as it was the great ſeat of learning. NEWTON.

I cannot diſcover the paſſage in Demoſthenes referred to by Dr. Newton. Thyſius, in a note on Juſtin, (L. ii. C. 6. *Ed. Varior.*) and on Valerius Maximus, (*Ed. Varior.* L. i. C. 6. *Exempl. Extern.* 1.) notices that Athens is mentioned by Demoſthenes under this deſcription, *the eye of Greece:* but no reference is made to the particular paſſage. DUNSTER.

Philo has the following expreſſion, relating to Athens, Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΚΟΡΗ, ἡ ἐν ψυχῇ λογισμὸς, τοῦτ' ἐν ΕΛΛΑΔΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, Phil. Jud. *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 467. edit. Mangey. This is cited in Gronovius, but I do not find ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος among the other titles therein applied to Athens. TODD.

Ver. 240. ——————— mother *of arts*
And eloquence,] Juſtin, (L. v. C. 9.) terms Athens " *Patria communis eloquentiæ.*" And (L. ii. C. 6.) he ſays, " *Litteræ certe et facundia veluti templum Athenas* habent." Cicero abounds in panegyricks upon this celebrated ſeat of learning and eloquence. He deſcribes it illas *omnium doctrinarum inventrices* Athenas, in quibus *ſumma dicendi vis et inventa eſt, et perfecta.*" De Orator. L. i. 13. *Ed. Prouſt.* And in his *Brutus*, ſect. 39. he characteriſes it " ea urbs, in qua et *nata*, et alta, fit *eloquentia.*" DUNSTER.

It ſhould be added, that " *the mother of eloquence*" was a title peculiarly applied to Athens. See Gronov. Theſaur. *Gr. Antiq.* vol. v. ed. ſupr. p. 1730. " Pervenit ad *matrem ſermonum* Athenas." Again, ibid, Ἐν τῇ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ταῖς Ἀθήναις. The ſame title exiſted on an ancient inſcription. See ibid, p. 1731. TODD.

Ver. 242. —— *hoſpitable,*] Diodorus deſcribes the Athe-

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City or ſuburban, ſtudious walks and ſhades.
See there the olive grove of Academe,

nians as " hoſpitable to wits" of other countries, by admitting all perſons whatever to benefit by the inſtruction of the learned teachers in their city; τὴν πατρίδα κοινὸν παιδευτήριον παρεχομένους πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, L. xiii. C. 27. The Athenians were remarkable for their general hoſpitality towards ſtrangers, to whom their city was always open, and for whoſe reception and accommodation they had particular officers, under the title of πρόξενοι, i. e. *the receivers of ſtrangers in the name of the whole city.*

DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. ——— *the* olive grove *of Academe,*] The Academy is always deſcribed as a woody, ſhady, place. Diogenes Laertius calls it προάστιον ΑΛΣΩΔΕΣ; and Horace ſpeaks of the " *ſylvas* Academi," 2 *Epiſt.* ii. 45. But Milton diſtinguiſhes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe,* becauſe the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens, being ſacred to Minerva the goddeſs of the city: he has beſides the expreſs authority of Ariſtophanes, *Nub.* v. 1001.

Ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατιὼν, ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρίξεις.

NEWTON.

This whole deſcription of the Academe is infinitely charming. Dr. Newton has juſtly obſerved that " Plato's Academy was never more beautifully deſcribed." " Cicero," he adds, " who has laid the ſcene of one of his dialogues (*De Fin.* L. v.) there, and who had been himſelf on the ſpot, has not painted it in more lively colours." Plutarch, in his treatiſe *de exilio,* refers to the three celebrated gymnaſia of Athens here noticed by the poet; the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa, or Portico. And the ſame author, in his *Life of Sylla,* ſpeaking of the Academy, (the trees of which he ſays Sylla cut down,) deſcribes it to have been more abounding with trees than any part of the ſuburbs of Athens, ΔΕΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΩΤΑΤΗΝ προάστιων.

The reader will find an elegant deſcription of the *Academy,* and of the other publick gardens to which the Learned at Athens reſorted, in Dr. Falconer's " *Hiſtorical View of the Taſte for Gardening, and Laying-out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity,*" p. 30. DUNSTER.

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Plato's retirement, where the Attick bird 245
Trills her thick-warbled notes the ſummer long;

Ver. 245. *Plato's retirement*,] Diogenes Laertius relates, in his *Life of Plato*, that Plato, "being returned to Athens from his journey to Egypt, ſettled himſelf in the Academy, a gymnaſium or place of exerciſe in the ſuburbs of that city, beſet with woods, taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, as Eupolis,

In ſacred Academus ſhady walks,

and he was buried in the Academy, where he continued moſt of his time teaching philoſophy, whence the ſect which ſprung from him was called Academick." NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *where the Attick bird*
Trills her thick-warbled notes &c.] Philomela, who according to the fables, was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion king of Athens. Hence the nightingale is called *Atthis* in Latin, quaſi Attica avis; thus Martial, L. i. *Ep.* 54.

"Sic ubi multiſonâ fervet facer *Atthide* lucus, &c."
NEWTON.

The nightingale is with peculiar propriety introduced in this deſcription of the Academe; in the neighbourhood of which, we learn from Pauſanias (L. i. C. 30.), lay the place called *Colonus Equeſtris*, which Sophocles has made the ſcene of his *Œdipus Coloneus*; and which he celebrates as particularly abounding with nightingales, v. 19, and v. 704. DUNSTER.

Ver. 246. *Trills her thick-warbled notes*] Dr. Newton obſerves that perhaps there never was a verſe more expreſſive of the harmony of the nightingale than this. Homer has a deſcription of the ſong of that bird, which is not diſſimilar, *Odyſſ.* xix. 521.

——————— Παιδὸς ἑῆς κέρη χλωρῆς ἀηδὼν ———
Ἥτε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα ΧΕΕΙ ΠΟΛΥΗΧΕΑ ΦΩΝΗΝ. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——————————— *the ſummer long*;] The nightingale is commonly ſuppoſed to ſing only in the ſpring, and not during ſummer. Milton deſcribes it ſinging in the end of

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There flowery hill Hymettus, with the ſound
Of bees' induſtrious murmur, oft invites
To ſtudious muſing; there Iliſſus rolls

April, in his *Sonnet to the Nightingale.* Sappho, in a verſe preſerved by the Scholiaſt on Sophocles, *Electr.* 148, terms this bird

ΗΡΟΣ Δ' ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ *ἱμερόφωνος ἀηδών.*

Pliny ſays, that the ſong of the nightingale continues in its greateſt perfection only fifteen days, from which time it gradually declines. "Afterwards, as ſummer advances," he adds, "it loſes all its variety and modulation." *Mox æſtu aucto in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata, nec varia.* L. x. 29. It ſeems therefore extraordinary that our author ſhould here deſcribe this bird of ſpring, ſinging "the ſummer long." We might indeed ſuppoſe that this protracted ſong of the nightingale, was an intended compliment to the claſſick ſpot, "Plato's retirement;" as the Thracians affirmed that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus ſung with uncommon melody, and in a ſtrain far ſuperiour to what they did in any other place. *Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Θρᾷκες αὐτῶν ἀηδόνων ἴσχυσι νοσσιὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ Ορφέως, ταύτας ἡδίον καὶ μιζόν τι ᾄδειν.* Pauſan. L. ix. C. 30. But on referring to the various paſſages in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, where Milton has introduced this bird, it does not appear that he conſidered it as ſinging only in the ſpring. *The ſong of the nightingale* is in fact one of his favourite circumſtances of deſcription, when he is painting a ſummer's night. DUNSTER.

Ver. 247. *There flowery hill Hymettus*, &c.] Valerius Flaccus calls it *Florea juga Hymetti*, Argonaut, v. 344; and the honey was ſo much eſteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was reckoned the beſt of the Attick honey, as the Attick honey was ſaid to be the beſt in the world. The poets often ſpeak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to ſleep, Virg. *Ecl.* i. 56. "Sæpe levi ſomnum ſuadebit inire ſuſurro;" but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and ſays that it *invites to ſtudious muſing*, which was more proper indeed for his purpoſe, as he is here deſcribing the Attick learning. NEWTON.

Ver. 249. ——————— *Iliſſus*] Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have obſerved with me, that Plato hath laid the ſcene of his Phædrus on the banks, and at the ſpring, of this

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His whiſpering ſtream: within the walls, then view
The ſchools of ancient ſages; his, who bred
Great Alexander to ſubdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:

pleaſant river.—χαρίεσσα γῆ καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται. Edit. Serr. vol. iii. p. 229. The philoſophical retreat at the ſpring-head is beautifully deſcribed by Plato, in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are repreſented ſitting on a green bank, ſhaded with a ſpreading platane, of which Cicero hath ſaid very prettily, that it ſeemeth not to have grown ſo much by the water which is deſcribed, as by Plato's eloquence; "quæ mihi videtur non tam ipſa aquula, quæ deſcribitur, quam Platonis oratione creviſſe." *De Orat.* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 251. ——————————— *who bred*
Great Alexander to ſubdue the world,] Milton, in his *Elegy* to his former preceptor, Thomas Young, then miniſter of the church of the Engliſh Merchants at Hamburgh, ſpeaks of his affection for his old maſter as ſuperiour to that of Alcibiades to Socrates, or of Alexander for Ariſtotle, *El.* iv. 25. We are told by Cicero that Ariſtotle, having obſerved how Iſocrates had riſen to celebrity on the ſole ground of florid declamation, (*inanem ſermonis elegantiam,*) was thereby induced to add to his own ſtock of ſolid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embelliſhments; which recommended him ſo much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his ſon Alexander, whom he wiſhed to be taught at once conduct and eloquence,—"et agendi præcepta, et loquendi." *De Orator.* iii. 41. Ed. Prouſt. The letter which Philip wrote to Ariſtotle upon the birth of his ſon, is preſerved by Aulus Gellius. L. ix. C. 3. DUNSTER.

Ver. 253. *Lyceum there,*] The *Lyceum* was the ſchool of Ariſtotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was the founder of the ſect of the Peripateticks, ſo called, ἀπὸ τῦ περιπατεῖν, from his *walking*, and teaching philoſophy. But there is ſome reaſon to queſtion, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton aſſerts. For Suidas ſays expreſsly, that it was a place in the ſuburbs, built by Pericles for the exerciſing of

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There ſhalt thou hear and learn the ſecret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand; and various-meaſur'd verſe,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyrick odes,

ſoldiers: and I find the ſcholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes in the Irene, ſpeaks of going into the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and *returning back into the city*:—εἰς τὸ Λύκειον εἰσιοῦσις—καὶ πάλιν ἐξιοῦσις ἐκ τοῦ Λύκειυ, καὶ ἀπιοῦσις εἰς τὴν πόλιν. NEWTON.

The eſtabliſhment of the *Lyceum* has been attributed both to Piſiſtratus and Pericles. Meurſius (*Athenæ Atticæ*, L. ii. C. 3.) ſuppoſes that it might have been begun by the former, and completed by the latter. Plutarch aſcribes it to Pericles, who, he ſays, made plantations, and built a *Palæſtra* there. See Life of Pericles. The ſame writer (*Sympoſ.* viii. Quæſt. 4.) ſays that it was dedicated to Apollo, as the god of healing, and thus with propriety, becauſe *health alone can furniſh the ſtrength requiſite for all corporeal exerciſes and exertions*. That the *Lyceum* ſtood without the walls, appears from the beginning of Plato's *Lyſis*, where it is poſitively deſcribed as being *without the walls*; Ἐπορεύομην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, εὐθὺ Λύκειυ τὴν ἔξω τειχοῦς, ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος. Strabo alſo ſpeaks of ſome fountains of clear and excellent water without the gates near the *Lyceum*, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Διόχαρες καλουμένυ πυλων, πλησίον τοῦ Λύκειυ. L. ix. p. 397. DUNSTER.

Ver. 253. ——————— *painted* Stoa] *Stoa* was the ſchool of Zeno, whoſe diſciples from the place had the name of Stoicks; and this Stoa, or portico, being adorned with variety of paintings, was called in Greek Ποικίλη, or *various*, and here by Milton the *painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius, in the Lives of Ariſtotle and Zeno. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. *Æolian charms* &c.] *Æolia carmina*, verſes ſuch as thoſe of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Leſbos, an iſland belonging to the Æolians, Hor. *Od.* III. xxx. 13.

" Princeps *Æolium carmen* ad Italos
" Deduxiſſe modos."

See alſo *Od.* IV. iii. 12. And *Dorian lyrick odes*; ſuch as thoſe of Pindar; who calls his lyre Δωρίαν φόρμιγγα, *Olymp.* i. 26, &c. NEWTON.

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And his, who gave them breath, but higher ſung,
Blind Meleſigenes, thence Homer call'd,
Whoſe poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own: 260
Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught

Ver. 258. *And his,* &c.] Our author agrees with thoſe writers, who ſpeak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry. Such wiſe men as Dionyſius the Halicarnaſſean, and Plutarch, have attempted to ſhow that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works. NEWTON.

Homer's works gave the idea of all the various ſpecies of poetry. Shafteſbury, ſpeaking on this ſubject, ſays finely; "There was no more for Tragedy to do after him, [Homer,] than to erect a ſtage, and draw dialogues and characters into ſcenes turning in the ſame manner upon one principal action, or event, with that regard to place and time which was ſuitable to a real ſpectacle. Even Comedy itſelf was adjudged to this great maſter." *Characteriſticks*, vol. i. p. 198. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 259. *Blind Meleſigenes, thence Homer call'd,*] Our author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is ſaid that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at firſt Meleſigenes,—τίθεται ὄνομα τῷ παιδὶ Μελησιγένεα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβοῦσα,—and that afterwards when he was blind and ſettled at Cuma, he was called *Homer*, quaſi ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, from the term by which the Cumæans diſtinguiſhed blind perſons; ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τὸνομα Ὅμηρος ἐπεκράτησε τῷ Μελησιγένει, ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς, οἱ γὰρ Κυμαῖοι τοὺς τυφλὸς ὁμήρους λέγουσιν. NEWTON.

Ver. 260. *Whoſe poem Phabus challeng'd for his own:*] Alluding to a Greek Epigram, in the firſt book of the *Anthologia*;

Ἡσίοδον μὲν ἔγωγε, ἐχάρασσε δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος. NEWTON.

Ver. 261. ——— *the* lofty grave *tragedians*] Æſchylus is thus characteriſed by Quinctilian; "Tragedias primum in lucem Æſchylus protulit, *ſublimis* et *gravis*, et grandiloquus, &c." L. x. C. 1. Where alſo the ſame author, comparing Sophocles and Euripides ſays, "*gravitas*, et *cothurnus* et ſonus Sophoclis videtur eſſe ſublimior." Tragedy was termed *lofty* by the

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In Chorus or Iambick, teachers beſt
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
In brief ſententious precepts, while they treat

ancients from its ſtyle, but at the ſame time not without a reference to the elevated buſkin which the actors wore. Thus Claudian, deſcribing tragedy as diſtinguiſhed from comedy, *De Mall. Theod. Conſ.* v. 314.

—— " *alte* graditur *majore cothurno:*"

And Ovid, *Amor.* L. ii. *El.* 18, ſpeaking of himſelf as having written tragedy, but being ſeduced from ſo grave an employment by the charms of his miſtreſs, adds,

" Déque *cothurnato vate* triumphat amor."

Again, *Triſt.* L. ii. *El.* i. 553, he refers to his Medea in ſimilar terms; giving the epithet *gravis* to the *cothurnus*, or high tragick buſkin. Milton, in his brief diſcourſe on tragedy, prefixed to his *Samſon Agoniſtes*, ſays, " Tragedy, as it was anciently compoſed, hath ever been held the *graveſt*, moraleſt, and moſt profitable of all other poems, &c." And Ovid had ſaid, *Triſt. El.* II. i. 381. " Omne genus ſcripti *gravitate* Tragædia vincit."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 262. —— *Chorus or Iambick,*] The two conſtituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the Iambick meaſure, and the chorus, which conſiſted of various meaſures. The character, here given by our author of the ancient tragedy, is very juſt and noble; and the Engliſh reader cannot form a better idea of it in its higheſt beauty and perfection, than by reading our author's *Samſon Agoniſtes.*

NEWTON.

Ver. 263. ———— —— *with delight receiv'd*
In brief ſententious *precepts,*] This deſcription particularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author. Euripides is deſcribed by Quinctilian, " *ſententiis denſus*, et in iis, quæ a ſapientibus tradita ſunt, pœne ipſis par." L. x. C. 1. And Aulus Gellius, (L. xi. C. 4.) citing ſome verſes from the *Hecuba* of Euripides, terms them " verbis *ſententia, brevitate* inſignes illuſtréſque." Ariſtotle, where he treats of ſentences (*Rhetoric.* L. ii. C. 22.), takes al-

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Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions and high paſſions beſt deſcribing:

moſt all his examples from Euripides. The abundance of moral precepts introduced by the Greek tragick poets in their pieces, and the delight with which they were received, are admirably accounted for by an eminent and excellent writer, Bp. Hurd, in his note on Horace's *Art of Poetry*, v. 219. Sylveſter, in his *Du Bartas*, complimenting Daniel, edit. 1621, p. 82, calls him

——————— " ſharp-conceited, *brief*,
" Civil, *ſententious*, for pure accents chief:"

See Headly's Specimens of old Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. 190.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 265. *Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,*] The arguments moſt frequently ſelected by the Greek tragick writers, (and indeed by their epick poets alſo,) were the accompliſhment of ſome oracle, or ſome ſuppoſed decree of *fate*. Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. *Iliad*, i. 5. But the incidents are intermediate circumſtances which led to the deſtined event, according to their ſyſtem, depended on fortune, or *chance*. *Fate* and *chance* then furniſhed the ſubject and incidents of their dramas; while the cataſtrophe produced the *peripetia*, or change of fortune. The hiſtory of Œdipus, one of their principal dramatick ſubjects, was here perhaps in our author's mind. The *fate* of Œdipus was foretold before his birth; the wonderful incidents, that, in ſpite of every guarded precaution, led to the accompliſhment of it, depended apparently on *chance*; the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, produced by the diſcovery of the oracle being ſo completely fulfilled, is truly affecting. *Change in human life* might here perhaps not merely refer to the pathetick cataſtrophes of the Greek tragedy, as it ſometimes formed the entire argument of their pieces; of which the *Œdipus Coloneus* is an inſtance. DUNSTER.

Ver. 266. High actions *and* high paſſions *beſt deſcribing*:] *High actions* refer to *fate* and *chance*, the arguments and incidents of tragedy; high paſſions to the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, which included the πάθος, or affecting part. *High actions* are the καλαὶ πράξεις of Ariſtotle, who, ſpeaking of the tragick poets as diſtinguiſhed from the writers of comedy, ſays, οἱ μὲν σπουδαιότεροι ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ ἐμιμοῦντο ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ. *High actions* and *high paſſions*

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Thence to the famous orators repair,
Thoſe ancient, whoſe reſiſtleſs eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arſenal, and fulmin'd over Greece 270

might alſo be underſtood to mean the noble achievements or the affecting diſaſters and ſufferings of great and elevated perſons. This agrees with what Milton ſays in his preface to *Samſon Agoniſtes*, where he condemns "the introducing trivial and vulgar perſons in tragedy; which by all judicious hath been counted abſurd." DUNSTER.

Ver. 267. *Thence to the famous orators* &c.] How happily does Milton's verſification in this, and the following lines, concerning the Socratick philoſophy, expreſs what he is deſcribing! In the firſt we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence of Demoſthenes, and the latter have all the gentleneſs and ſoftneſs of the humble modeſt character of Socrates. THYER.

Ver. 268. *Thoſe ancient,*] Milton was of the ſame opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æſchines, Demoſthenes, and the orators of their times to Demetrius Phalereus, and thoſe of the ſubſequent ages. See Cicero, *De claris Oratoribus*. And, in the judgment of Quintilian, Demetrius Phalereus was the firſt who weakened eloquence, and the laſt almoſt of the Athenians who can be called an orator: "is primus inclinaſſe eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus eſt fere ex Atticis qui dici poſſit orator." *De Inſtit. Orat.* x. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 268. ——— *whoſe reſiſtleſs* eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arſenal, and fulmin'd *over Greece*] Alluding, as Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both obſerved, to what Ariſtophanes has ſaid of Pericles in his *Acharnenſes*:

Ἡγράττεθ', ἱδρόντα, ξυνικύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

For the various authors who have referred, or alluded, to this deſcription of *the reſiſtleſs eloquence* of Pericles, ſee Kuſter's note on the paſſage, in his edition of Ariſtophanes; where however he has overlooked Quinctilian, L. ii. C. 16. & L. xii. C. 10. Cicero, (*Epiſt. ad Attic.* xv. 1. and *Orator*. Sect. 234. Ed. Prouſt,)

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To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne:
To ſage Philoſophy next lend thine ear,
From Heaven deſcended to the low-roof'd houſe
Of Socrates; ſee there his tenement,

ſpeaks of the "*fulmina* Demoſthenis." The younger Pliny thus deſcribes the eloquence of his friend Pompeius Saturninus; "Adſunt aptæ, crebræque ſententiæ, gravis et decora conſtructio, ſonantia verba et antiqua. Omnia hæc mire placent. Cum impetu quodam et *fulmine* prævehuntur:" And, in the xith *Æneid*, Virgil makes Turnus, in his ſpeech to Drances, ſay

"Proinde *tona eloquio;* ſolitum tibi."

Longinus, ſpeaking of the ſuperiour power of Demoſthenes in oratory to the publick ſpeakers of any age, expreſſes himſelf in a ſimilar figure of ſpeech, ſect. xxxiv. ΚΑΤΑΒΡΟΝΤΑ καὶ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΡΕΙ τὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας· κ. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

The word *fulmined* is here adopted from Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 5. See Mr. Upton's note on the paſſage. Sylveſter aſcribes to Cicero, not indeed in a very happy manner, what Milton aſcribes to the Grecian orators. See *Du Bartas*, fol. ed. 1621, p. 263.

——————"whoſe *thundring eloquence*
"Yeelds thouſand ſtreames, whence, rapt in admiration,
"The rareſt wits are drunk in every nation!" TODD.

Ver. 271. *To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne:*] As Pericles and others *fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes' throne* againſt the Perſian king, ſo Demoſthenes was the orator particularly, who *fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon* againſt king Philip, in his Orations, therefore denominated Philippicks. NEWTON.

Ver. 273. *From Heaven deſcended to the low-roof'd houſe*
Of Socrates;] Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 27.—"e cœlo deſcendit γνῶθι σεαυτὸν," as this famous Delphick precept was the foundation of Socrates's philoſophy, and ſo much uſed by him, that it hath paſſed with ſome for his own. Or, as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero ſays of

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Whom well inſpir'd the oracle pronounc'd
Wiſeſt of men; from whoſe mouth iſſued forth
Mellifluous ſtreams, that water'd all the ſchools

Socrates, "Socrates autem primus philoſophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collacavit, et in domus etiam introduxit." *Tuſc. Diſp.* V. 4. But he has given a very different ſenſe to the words either by deſign or miſtake, as Mr. Warburton obſerves. It is properly called *the low-roof'd houſe*; "for I believe," ſaid Socrates, "that if I could meet with a good purchaſer, I might eaſily get for my goods, and houſe and all, five pounds." See Xenophon, *Oeconomic.* Five minæ, or Attick pounds, were better than ſixteen pounds of our money, a *mina*, according to Barnard, being three pounds eight ſhillings and nine-pence. NEWTON.

In the *Clouds* of Ariſtophanes, (ver. 92.) where Strepſiades points out the habitation of Socrates to his ſon, he uſes the diminutive οἰκίδιον, *ædicula*, ſmall houſe, or *tenement.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Whom well inſpir'd the oracle pronounc'd*
Wiſeſt of men;] The verſe, delivered down to us upon this occaſion, is this;

Ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Of all men Socrates is the wiſeſt. NEWTON.

Ver. 276. ——— *from whoſe mouth iſſued forth*
Mellifluous ſtreams, that water'd all the ſchools
Of Academicks &c.] Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *fons philoſophorum.* L. i. C. 10. As the ancients looked upon Homer to be the father of poetry, ſo they eſteemed Socrates the father of moral philoſophy. Thus Cicero, (*Academic.* L. i. C. 4;) "Socrates mihi videtur, id quod conſtat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis et ab ipſa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philoſophi occupati fuerunt, avocaviſſe philoſophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxiſſe; &c." and, ſpeaking of the Academick and Peripatetick ſchools, he ſays, "idem *fons* erat utriuſque." The different ſects of philoſophers were indeed ſo many different families, which all acknowledged Socrates for their common parent. Cicero, ſpeaking of him, (*Tuſc. Diſp.* L. v. C. 4,) ſays—"cujus multiplex ratio diſputandi, rerumque varietas, et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis memoria et literis con-

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Of Academicks old and new, with thoſe
Surnam'd Peripateticks, and the ſect
Epicurean, and the Stoick ſevere;
Theſe here revolve, or, as thou lik'ſt, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight;
Theſe rules will render thee a king complete

ſecrata, plura genera effecit diſſentientium philoſophorum." And, (*De Orator.* L. iii. C. 16.) "Nam cum eſſent plures orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius variis, et diverſis, et in omnem partem diffuſis diſputationibus alius aliud apprehenderat; proſeminatæ ſunt quaſi familiæ diſſentientes inter ſe, et multum disjunctæ et diſpares cum tamen omnes ſe philoſophi Socraticos et dici vellent, et eſſe arbitrarentur." NEWTON.

But our author, in ſpeaking here of *the melliſluous ſtreams of philoſophy that iſſued from the mouth of Socrates, and watered all the various ſchools or ſects, of philoſophers*, had in his mind a paſſage of Ælian, (*Var. Hiſt.* L. xiii. C. 22,) where it is ſaid that "Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain, and the other poets drawing water from his mouth." Whence alſo Manilius, ſpeaking of Homer, L. ii. 8.

——"cujúſque *ex ore* profuſos
"Omnis poſteritas latices in carmina duxit,
"Amnémque in tenues auſa eſt deducere rivos
"Unius fæcunda bonis."

And Ovid, *Amor.* III. ix. 25;

"Adjice Mæonidem, *a quo, ceu fonte perenni,*
"*Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 278. *Of* Academicks old *and* new,] The *Academick* ſect of philoſophers, like the Greek comedy, had its three epochs, *old*, *middle*, and *new*. Plato was the head of the old Academy, Arceſilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new. DUNSTER.

Ver. 283. Theſe *rules*] There is no mention before of rules; but of poets, orators, and philoſophers. We ſhould read therefore, "*Their* rules &c." CALTON.

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Within thyſelf, much more with empire join'd.
To whom our Saviour ſagely thus replied.
Think not but that I know theſe things, or think
I know them not; not therefore am I ſhort
Of knowing what I ought: he, who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
But theſe are falſe, or little elſe but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.

Ver. 285. *To whom* &c.] This anſwer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for ſolid reaſoning, and the many ſublime truths contained in it, as the preceding ſpeech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it: and one may obſerve in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the ſide of errour, whether it was that he thought great truths beſt expreſſed in a grave, unaffected ſtyle, or intended to ſuggeſt this fine moral to the reader, that ſimple naked truth will always be an over-match for falſehood, though recommended by the gayeſt rhetorick, and adorned with the moſt bewitching colours. THYER.

Ver. 288. ——————— *he, who receives*
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;] Peck, from this paſſage, ſuppoſes Milton to have been a Quaker. Milton was a ſectariſt on general principles, which cannot eaſily be reduced to any particular or ſeparate ſyſtem. The *Paradiſe Regained*, indeed, is ſuppoſed to have been written at the ſuggeſtion of Thomas Ellwood, a Quaker, Milton's neighbour at Chalfont; and if ever a Quaker indulges himſelf in the vanities of Engliſh poetry, the *Paradiſe Regained* is his favourite claſſick.
T. WARTON.

The Quakers, it may be obſerved, admit that the Scriptures are true, but conceive that the neceſſity of them is ſuperſeded by intellectual communications; to which tenet the laſt of theſe lines ſeems to point. DUNSTER.

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The firſt and wiſeſt of them all profeſs'd
To know this only, that he nothing knew;
The next to fabling fell, and ſmooth conceits; 295
A third ſort doubted all things, though plain ſenſe;

Ver. 293. *The firſt and wiſeſt of them all profeſs'd*
To know this only, that he nothing knew;] Socrates; of whom Cicero, "Hic in omnibus fere ſermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perſcripti varie, copioſe ſunt, ita diſputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipſe, refellat alios: nihil ſe ſcire dicat, niſi id ipſum: eoque præſtare ceteris, quod illi quæ neſciant ſcire ſe putent; ipſe, ſe nihil ſcire, id unum ſciat." Cicero *Academic.* i. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 295. *The next to* fabling *fell, and* ſmooth conceits;] Milton, in his Latin Poem, *De Idea, Platonica*, terms Plato, "*fabulator* maximus," v. 38. This paſſage ſhows our Poet inclined to cenſure the fictions of the philoſopher; which were alſo noticed in early times. Diogenes Laertius cites a verſe of Timon, to this purpoſe,

Ὡς ἀνέπλασε Πλάτων πιπλασμένα θαύματα εἰδώς.
What wonderous fictions learned Plato fram'd!

Mr. Calton cites a paſſage from *Parker's Free and Impartial Cenſure of the Platonick Philoſophy*, Oxford, 1667; where it is obſerved that "Plato and his followers, communicated their notions by emblems, fables, ſymbols, parables, heaps of metaphors, and all ſorts of myſtical repreſentations." "Theſe," it is afterwards added, "though they are pretty poetick fancies, are infinitely unfit to expreſs philoſophical notions and diſcoveries of the nature of things." *Smooth conceits* are the Italian *concetti;* by which term an Italian writer would, I apprehend, characteriſe any far-fetched or fine-ſpun allegories. DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. *A third ſort doubted all things, though plain ſenſe;*] Theſe were the Sceptics or Pyrrhonians, the diſciples of Pyrrho, who aſſerted nothing to be either honeſt or diſhoneſt, juſt or unjuſt, that men do all things by law and cuſtom; and that in every thing *this* is not preferable to *that*. This was called the Sceptick philoſophy from its continual inſpection, and never

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Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
But virtue join'd with riches and long life;
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;
The Stoick last in philosophick pride,

finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. See Stanley's *Life of Pyrrho*, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius.

NEWTON.

Ver. 297. *Others in virtue plac'd felicity,*
But virtue join'd with riches and long life;] These were the old Academicks, and the Peripateticks the scholars of Aristotle. See Cicero, *Academic.* ii. 42, and *De Fin.* ii. 11.

NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *In corporal pleasure* he, *and careless ease;*] The *He* is here contemptuously emphatical. Thus Demosthenes, in the opening of his first Philippick, referring to Philip, whom he had not mentioned by name, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει ΤΟΥΤΟΥ, δι' ἣν παραλυόμεθα. And, in the *Paradise Lost*, Satan, in his first speech, when on the burning lake, he "breaks the horrid silence," speaks of the Deity, in a manner not dissimilar, by the title of "*He* with his thunder."

Dr. Newton illustrates the sentiments here attributed to Epicurus by a passage from Cicero, who says of him; "Confirmat illud vel maxime, quod ipsa natura, ut ait ille, asciscat, et reprobet, id est voluptatem et dolorem; ad hæc, et quæ sequamur, et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia" *De Fin.* i. 7. But Epicurus may speak for himself. In his Epistle to Menæceus, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, he points out as the only essential and truly interesting objects of a wise man's attention, τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν, "health of body, and an undisturbed state of mind, &c." Lucian, speaking of the same philosopher, has a passage strikingly similar: Ἀμέλει ὁ μὲν ἀντῶν παρῄνει τὸ πᾶν ἥδεσθαι, καὶ μόνον τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς μετίεναι. *Necyomant.* p. 460. ed. Reitz. Where also, see the account of the Stoicks and Peripateticks, and compare with Milton's account of them here. DUNSTER.

Ver. 300. *The Stoick last* &c.] The reason why Milton represents our Saviour taking such particular notice of the Stoicks

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By him call'd virtue; and his virtuous man,
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing

above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refined and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most revered and esteemed for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their *virtuous man* is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus; and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following.

THYER.

Nine lines are here employed in exposing the errours of the Stoick philosophy, while the other sects have scarcely more than a single line bestowed upon each of them. This is done with great judgement. The reveries of Plato, the superlative scepticism of Pyrrho, the sensuality of Epicurus, and the selfish meanness of the old Academicks and Peripateticks, might well be supposed to carry sufficient confutation along with them. But the tenets of the Stoicks, which had a great mixture of truth with errour, and inculcated, among other things, the moral duties, a great degree of self-denial, and the imitation of the Deity, as fixed principles, were worthy of a more particular examination; and required to have their speciousness and insufficiency in other respects more particularly marked and laid open. Add to this the esteem in which the Stoicks were held not only among the philosophers of antiquity, but among some of the early writers on Christianity. Cicero, though no Stoick, says of them, "Licet infectemur istos (Stoicos), metuo ne soli philosophi sint." *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 24. Clemens Alexandrinus in many parts of his works professes himself a Stoick. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, acknowledges that the Stoicks in most points of doctrine agree with the Christians, "Stoici cum nostro dogmate in plerisque concordant." C. 10. To bring forward, therefore, and to censure in this place the exceptionable doctrines of this sect, was highly becoming the character under which our blessed Lord is here represented and described. DUNSTER.

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Equal to God, oft ſhames not to prefer,
As fearing God nor man, contemning all
Wealth, pleaſure, pain or torment, death and life,
Which, when he liſts, he leaves, or boaſts he can,
For all his tedious talk is but vain boaſt,
Or ſubtle ſhifts conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach, and not miſlead,
Ignorant of themſelves, of God much more,

Ver. 303. Equal *to God,*] Dr. Newton here reads "*Equals* to God, &c." and conceives the ſenſe to be ſo much improved, that the omiſſion of the letter *s* muſt have been an errour of the preſs. I retain the reading in Milton's own edition, as the ſenſe appears ſufficiently clear with it, neither do I ſee any material improvement reſulting from the correction. It ſeems to me alſo probable that "all poſſeſſing equal to God," was ſuggeſted by a paſſage of Seneca, who is likewiſe deſcribing the virtuous man of the Stoicks, "*Deorum ritu* cuncta poſſideat." *Epiſt.* xcii.
DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boaſt,*
Or ſubtle ſhifts] *Vain boaſts* relate to the Stoical paradoxes; and *ſubtle ſhifts* to their dialectick, which this ſect ſo much cultivated, that they were known equally by the name of *Dialecticians* and *Stoicks*. WARBURTON.

Ver. 308. —*ſubtle ſhifts conviction to evade.*] "Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam ſit *ſubtile*, vel ſpinoſum potius, differendi genus." Cicero, *De Fin.* iii. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Ignorant of themſelves, of God much more,*
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himſelf, on grace depending?] Having drawn moſt accurately the character of the Stoick philoſopher, and expoſed the inſufficiency of his pretenſions to ſuperiour virtue as built on ſuperiour knowledge, the poet may be underſtood here as referring to the Holy Scriptures, as the only true ſource of information reſpecting the Nature of God, the Creation, the Fall of Man, &c. They who have never benefited by divine

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And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himſelf, on grace depending?
Much of the ſoul they talk, but all awry,
And in themſelves ſeek virtue, and to themſelves
All glory arrogate, to God give none;
Rather accuſe him under uſual names,
Fortune and Fate, as one regardleſs quite

revelation, he intimates, muſt bewilder themſelves in ſuch reſearches, and cannot but fall into the greateſt abſurdities, as was the case of the Stoicks and other philoſophers. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *Much of the ſoul they talk, but all awry,*] See what Dr. Warburton has ſaid of the abſurd notions of the ancient philoſophers, concerning the nature of the ſoul, in his *Divine Legation*, Book iii. Sect. 4. NEWTON.

Compare Milton's *Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce*, ch. iii. "Thus were the common ſort of Gentiles wont to think, without any *wry* thoughts caſt upon divine governance." TODD.

Ver. 314. *And in themſelves ſeek virtue, and to themſelves*
All glory arrogate, to God give none;] Cicero ſpeaks the ſentiments of ancient philoſophy upon this point, in the following words: "propter virtutem enim jure *laudamur, et in virtute recte gloriamur:* quod non contingeret, ſi id donum a Deo, non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut ſi aliud quippiam nacti ſumus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cùm Diis gratias agimus tum nihil noſtræ laudi aſſumptum arbitramur. Num quis, quòd bonus vir eſſet, gratias Diis egit unquam? At quòd dives, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis. Ad rem autem ut redeam, *judicium hoc omnium mortalium eſt, fortunam a Deo petendam, a ſe ipſo ſumendam eſſe ſapientiam.*" De Nat. Deor. iii. 36. WARBURTON.

Ver. 316. *Rather accuſe him under uſual names,*
Fortune *and* Fate,] Thus in the ſpeech which Jupiter addreſſes to the aſſembly of the gods in the beginning of the *Odyſſey*.

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Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud. However, many books,

Ω πόποι οἷον δή νυ θεὸς βροτὸν αἰτίοωνται.
Ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
Σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

Several of the ancient philosophers, but especially the Stoicks, thus characterise the Deity. "Sic hunc naturam vocas, *fatum*, *fortunam*; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua potestate." *De Beneficiis.* iv. 8. "Vis illum *fatum* vocare? non errabis." *Nat. Quæst.* ii. 45. The Stoick poet, Lucan, frequently terms the Deity, *Fate* or *Fortune*: See *Pharsal.* i. 87, and iii. 97. DUNSTER.

Ver. 321. *An empty cloud.*] A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embraced an *empty cloud* for a Juno.
NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *many books,*
Wise men have said, are wearisome;] Alluding to *Eccles.* xii. 12. "Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh." NEWTON.

The same sentiment may be traced to classical authority. "Aiunt enim," says the younger Pliny, "*multum* legendum esse, *non multa.*" L. viii. *Epist.* 9. It is indeed a Stoical precept, and as such Milton might refer to it in the words, *Wise men have said.* Τὴν δὲ βιβλίων δίψαν ῥίψας. Antonin. *Meditat.* "Do not indulge yourself in a thirst after books." "Illud autem vide ne ista *lectio multorum auctorum*, et omnis generis voluminum, habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Distrahit animum *librorum multitudo.*" Senec. *Epist.* ii. "Quo mihi innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota vita sua indices perlegit? *Onerat discentem turba*, non instruit; multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam *errare per multos.*" Senec. *De Tranquillitat. Animi.* C. 9. DUNSTER.

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Wiſe men have ſaid, are weariſome; who reads
Inceſſantly, and to his reading brings not
A ſpirit and judgement equal or ſuperiour,
(And what he brings what needs he elſewhere
ſeek?)
Uncertain and unſettled ſtill remains,
Deep vers'd in books, and ſhallow in himſelf,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a ſponge;
As children gathering pebbles on the ſhore.

Ver. 322. ——— *who reads*
Inceſſantly, &c.] See the ſame juſt ſentiment in *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. vii. 126.
——" Knowledge is as food, and needs no leſs
" Her temperance over appetite, &c." THYER.

Ver. 327. *Deep vers'd in books, and ſhallow in himſelf*,] Milton would, I conceive, thus have characteriſed his old antagoniſt, Salmaſius. DUNSTER.

Ver. 329. ——— *worth a ſponge*;] Milton moſt probably alluded to the *ſponge* as used by the ancients for the purpoſe of blotting out any thing they had written, and did not chooſe to preſerve. Thus we read in Suetonius's Life of Auguſtus, when that emperour had attempted a tragedy on the ſubject of Ajax, he anſwered " Ajacem ſuum *in ſpongiam incubuiſſe*." So that *worth a ſponge* literally means not worth ſeeing the light, not worth preſerving. DUNSTER.

Milton explains himſelf in his *Arcopagitica*, in a paſſage of remarkable humour, on the ſubject of Papal Imprimaturs: " Sometimes five Imprimaturs are ſeen together dialogue-wiſe in the piatza of one title-page, complementing and ducking to each other with their ſhaven reverences, whether *the author*, who ſtands by in perplexity at the foot of his epiſtle, ſhall to the preſs, or *to the ſponge*." Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 417. ed. 1698. TODD.

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Or, if I would delight my private hours
With muſick or with poem, where, ſo ſoon
As in our native language, can I find
That ſolace? All our law and ſtory ſtrew'd
With hymns, our pſalms with artful terms in-
ſcrib'd,
Our Hebrew ſongs and harps, in Babylon
That pleas'd ſo well our victors' ear, declare
That rather Greece from us theſe arts deriv'd;
Ill imitated, while they loudeſt ſing
The vices of their Deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or ſong, ſo perſonating

Ver. 335. ——— *our pſalms with artful terms inſcrib'd,*] He means the inſcriptions prefixed to the beginning of ſeveral pſalms, ſuch as *To the chief muſician upon Nehiloth*, &c. to denote the various kinds of pſalms or inſtruments. NEWTON.

Ver. 336. *Our Hebrew ſongs and harps, in Babylon*
That pleas'd ſo well our victors' ear,] This is ſaid upon the authority of *Pſal.* cxxxvii. 1, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *That rather Greece from us* &c.] This was the ſyſtem in vogue at that time. It was eſtabliſhed and ſupported with vaſt erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length, by Huetius and Gale. WARBURTON.

Clemens Alexandrinus aſcribes the invention of hymns and ſongs to the Jews; and ſays that the Greeks ſtole theirs from them. *Stromat.* L. i. p. 308. Ed. Colon. 1688. He alſo charges the Grecian philoſophers with ſtealing many of their doctrines from the Jewiſh prophets. L. i. p. 312. DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. *Ill imitated,*] Becauſe the ſubject of the Hebrew Songs was God Himſelf; the ſubject of the Grecian, the groſs and ridiculous deities of their own invention. TODD.

Ver. 341. ——— *perſonating*] This is in the Latin ſenſe of *perſono*, to celebrate loudly. DUNSTER.

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Their Gods ridiculous, and themſelves paſt ſhame.
Remove their ſwelling epithets, thick laid
As varniſh on a harlot's cheek, the reſt,
Thin ſown with aught of profit or delight,

Ver. 343. ——— ſwelling *epithets*,] Greek compounds, as doctor Warburton obſerves. Mr. Thyer adds, that the hymns of the Greek poets conſiſt of very little more than repeated invocations of them by different names and epithets. Jupiter, as Mr. Dunſter remarks, is the *cloud-compeller*, or the *ægis bearer*; Apollo, the *far-darter*, &c. Dr. Joſ. Warton conſiders Milton's alluſion as pointing ſolely at the rich and florid compound epithets ſo frequent in the Hymns of Callimachus. Poſſibly the the epithet *ſwelling* might have been ſuggeſted by a paſſage in *Jude*, ver. 16, which is applied to falſe teachers: "Their mouth ſpeaketh great *ſwelling* words, having mens perſons in admiration becauſe of advantage." TODD.

Ibid. ——— *thick laid*
As varniſh on a harlot's cheek,] The Duke of Buckingham, very poſſibly, had this paſſage of Milton in his mind, when he wrote the following lines of his *Eſſay on Poetry*;

"Figures of ſpeech, which poets think ſo fine,
"(Art's needleſs *varniſh* to make nature ſhine,)
"Are all but *paint upon a beauteous face*,
"And in deſcriptions only claim a place:"

as Milton, moſt probably, had the following lines of Shakſpeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. 1.

"The *harlot's cheek, beautied with plaſtering art*,
"Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
"Than is my deed, &c." DUNSTER.

Prynne cenſures "the recitall, acting, and *perſonating* of the names, the hiſtories, and notorious villanies" *of the heathen deities*, in a ſimilar figure: "The reuiuall of their names and memories, the *varniſhing of them with freſh and liuely colours* in our Stage-Playes, muſt needes bee euill, &c." *Hiſtrio Maſtix*, 1633, part i. p. 80. TODD.

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Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's ſongs, to all true taſtes excelling,
Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,

Ver. 346. *Will far be found unworthy to compare*
With Sion's ſongs,] He was of this opinion not only in the decline of life, but likewiſe in his earlier days, as appears from the preface to his ſecond Book of the *Reaſon of Church Government*. "Or if occaſion ſhall lead to imitate thoſe magnifick odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in moſt things worthy, ſome others in their frame judicious, in their matter moſt an end faulty. But thoſe frequent ſongs throughout the law and prophets beyond all theſe, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of compoſition, may be eaſily made appear, over all the kinds of lyrick poeſy, to be incomparable." NEWTON.

But Milton now appears to have imbibed ſo ſtrong a tincture of fanaticiſm, as to decry all human compoſitions and profane ſubjects. In the context he ſpeaks with abſolute contempt, even in a critical view, and a general diſapprobation of the Greek odes or hymns. Read ver. 343 to ver. 348. Undoubtedly theſe were Milton's own ſentiments, though delivered in an aſſumed character. Even in his own perſon, he had long before given the ſubſtance of the context, as cited by doctor Newton. It muſt however be obſerved, that Chriſt is here anſwering Satan's ſpeech, and counteracting his exquiſite panegyrick on the philoſophers, poets, and orators of Athens. Yet at the ſame time I can conceive that Satan's ſpeech, which here he means to confute, and which no man was more able to write than himſelf, came from the heart. The writers of dialogue in feigned characters have great advantage. T. WARTON.

Ver. 348. *Where God is prais'd aright*, &c.] Such is part of the concluſion, which he deduces from his conſideration of poetical ſubjects "of higheſt hope and hardeſt attempting," *Reaſon of Ch. Gov.* Pref. B. ii. "Theſe abilities, whereſoever they be found, are the inſpired gift of God, rarely beſtowed, but yet to ſome (though moſt abuſe) in every nation; and are of power, beſide the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great

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The Holieſt of Holies, and his Saints,
(Such are from God inſpir'd, not ſuch from thee,)
Unleſs where moral virtue is expreſs'd 351
By light of Nature, not in all quite loſt.

people the ſeeds of virtue and publick civility, &c. to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of *God's almightineſs, and what he works*, &c. to ſing victorious agonies of *martyrs and ſaints*, &c." TODD.

Ver. 350. (*Such are from God inſpir'd, not ſuch from thee,*)
Unleſs where moral virtue is expreſs'd
By light of Nature, not in all quite loſt.] Thus the paſſage ſtands pointed in Dr. Newton's edition; where Mr. Meadowcourt obſerves that the ſenſe of theſe lines is highly obſcure, and explains them to mean, "Poets from thee inſpired are not ſuch as theſe, unleſs where moral virtue is expreſſed &c." But this is very far from ſatisfactory. Indeed the obſcurity, if not cauſed, is increaſed by departing from the punctuation of the firſt edition, which had a ſemicolon after *not ſuch from thee. Unleſs* certainly has no reference to the immediately preceding line; which I have therefore put in a parentheſis, ſuppoſing the exception to refer to ver. 346.

"Will far be found unworthy to compare
"With Sion's ſongs, &c.
"Unleſs where moral virtue is expreſs'd
"By light of Nature, not in all quite loſt."

I will venture however. to ſuggeſt a new arrangement of the paſſage:

——————————— "the reſt
"Thin ſown with aught of profit or delight,
"(Unleſs where moral virtue is expreſs'd
"By light of Nature not in all quite loſt,)
"Will far be found unworthy to compare
"With Sion's ſongs to all true taſtes excelling,
"Where God is prais'd alike and God-like men,
"The Holieſt of Holies, and his Saints;
"Such are from God inſpir'd, not ſuch from thee."
DUNSTER.

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Their orators thou then extoll'ſt, as thoſe
The top of eloquence; ſtatiſts indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may ſeem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The ſolid rules of civil government,
In their majeſtick unaffected ſtyle,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plaineſt taught, and eaſieſt learnt,

I have followed Mr. Dunſter's punctuation of this paſſage; conceiving it accords with the intention of the poet, in whoſe edition a ſemi-colon is placed at the end of ver. 349, as well as of ver. 350. But Mr. Dunſter's new arrangement is much more perſpicuous. TODD.

Ver. 353. ——————— *as* thoſe
The top of eloquence;] I ſhould prefer "as *though* the top of eloquence." CALTON.

Thoſe is more in Milton's manner: *Thoſe the* TOP *of eloquence*, being a phraſe of the ſame import, as *Scipio the* HIGHTH *of Rome*, Par. Loſt, B. ix. 510. Compare alſo Shakſpeare, *Meaſ. for Meaſ.* A. ii. S. ii.

——————— "How would you be,
"If He, which is the TOP *of judgement*, ſhould
"But judge you, as you are!" TODD.

Ver. 354. ——————— *ſtatiſts*] Or *ſtateſmen*. A word, as doctor Newton obſerves, in more frequent uſe formerly; as in Shakſpeare, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. v.

——————— "I do believe,
"(*Statiſt* though I am none, nor like to be.)"

And, as Mr. Dunſter adds, Milton uſes it in his *Proſe-Works*, vol. i. p. 424. ed. 1698. He uſes it alſo, in the ſame ſenſe, in his *Proſe-W.* vol. i. ed. ſup. p. 141, and p. 302. TODD.

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What makes a nation happy, and keeps it ſo,
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
Theſe only with our law beſt form a king.
So ſpake the Son of God; but Satan, now
Quite at a loſs, (for all his darts were ſpent,)
Thus to our Saviour with ſtern brow replied.
Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,
Kingdom nor empire pleaſes thee, nor aught
By me propos'd in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What doſt thou in this world? The wilderneſs
For thee is fitteſt place; I found thee there,
And thither will return thee; yet remember

Ver. 362. ——— makes *a nation happy, and* keeps *it ſo,*] Horace, *Epiſt.* I. vi. 2.

——— " *facere* aut *ſervare* beatum."

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 366. ——— (*for all his* darts *were ſpent,*)] Poſſibly with a reference to " the fiery *darts* of the wicked," Epheſ. vi. 16. But archery furniſhed metaphors frequently to the Latin and Greek writers. Thus Horace, reproving the unbounded aims and deſigns of men, *Od.* II. xvi.

" Quid brevi fortes *jaculamur* ævo
" Multa?"

And Æſchylus, ſpeaking of " the tongue that launches forth much improper language," *Supplic.* v. 455.

——— γλῶσσα ΤΟΞΕΥΟΥΣΑ μὴ τὰ καίρια.

And in the ſame manner Euripides, *Hecub.* 603.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νῦς ΕΤΟΞΕΥΣΕΝ μάτην. DUNSTER.

The alluſion may be to Holy Writ, in which the words of *wicked men* are expreſsly termed *arrows:* " Who whet their tongue like a ſword, and ſhoot out their *arrows*, even *bitter words*," Pſalm lxiv. 3. TODD.

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What I foretel thee, ſoon thou ſhalt have cauſe
To wiſh thou never hadſt rejected, thus
Nicely or cautiouſly, my offer'd aid,
Which would have ſet thee in ſhort time with eaſe
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
Now at full age, fulneſs of time, thy ſeaſon,
When prophecies of thee are beſt fulfill'd.
Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,
Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the ſtars
Voluminous, or ſingle characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to ſpell,
Sorrows, and labours, oppoſition, hate
Attend thee, ſcorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and ſtripes, and laſtly cruel death;
A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
Real or allegorick, I diſcern not;

Ver. 377. Nicely *or cautiouſly*,] Thus ver. 157 of this Book,

" Nothing will pleaſe the difficult and *nice*."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 380. ——— *fulneſs of time, thy ſeaſon*,] *Galat.* iv. 4. " When the fulneſs of the time was come, God ſent forth his Son." NEWTON.

Ver. 382. ——— *if I read aught in Heaven*,] A ſatire on Cardon, who with the boldneſs and impiety of an atheiſt and a madman, both of which he was, caſt the nativity of Jeſus Chriſt, and found by the great and illuſtrious concourſe of ſtars at his birth, that he muſt needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which ſhould ſpread itſelf far and near for many ages. The great Milton, with a juſt indignation of this impiety, hath ſatirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting theſe reveries into the mouth of the Devil. NEWTON.

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Nor when; eternal ſure, as without end,
Without beginning; for no date prefix'd
Directs me in the ſtarry rubrick ſet.
So ſaying he took, (for ſtill he knew his power
Not yet expir'd,) and to the wilderneſs
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to diſappear. Darkneſs now roſe,
As day-light ſunk, and brought in lowering Night,
Her ſhadowy offspring; unſubſtantial both,

Ver. 391. ——— *as without end*
Without beginning;] "The poet," ſays Dr. Newton, "did not think it enough to diſcredit *judicial aſtrology* by making it patroniſed by the Devil; to ſhow at the ſame time the abſurdity of it, he makes the Devil alſo blunder in the expreſſion of portending *a kingdom which was without beginning*. This," he adds, "deſtroys all he would inſinuate." But the poet certainly never meant to make the Tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly ſarcaſtick on the eternity of Chriſt's kingdom, reſpecting which the Tempter ſays he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, *that of never beginning*. This is that *ſpecies of inſulting wit*, which the Devils, in the ſixth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, indulge themſelves in on the firſt effects of the artillery they had invented; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Dr. Newton, obſerves that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, "when we conſider the character of the ſpeakers, and that ſuch kind of inſulting wit is moſt peculiar to proud, contemptuous ſpirits."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 399. *Her ſhadowy offspring;*] *Night* was ſometimes the parent, and Darkneſs the *offspring*. See Cicero *De Nat. Deorum*, where we meet with *Tenebræ* among the progeny of *Night* and *Erebus*. But Milton's *Theogony* is conformable to Hyginus, who makes *Caligo*, or *Darkneſs*, the mother of *Night*, *Day*, *Erebus*, and *Ether*. See the firſt chapter of Hyginus *De Fabulis*. DUNSTER.

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Privation mere of light and abſent day.
Our Saviour meek, and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried ſore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his reſt,
Wherever, under ſome concóurſe of ſhades,
Whoſe branching arms thick intertwin'd might ſhield
From dews and damps of night his ſhelter'd head;
But, ſhelter'd, ſlept in vain; for at his head
The Tempter watch'd, and ſoon with ugly dreams
Diſturb'd his ſleep. And either tropick now

Ver. 399. ——— *unſubſtantial both*,] His philoſophy is here ill placed. It daſhes out the image he had juſt been painting. WARBURTON.

Euripides, in a chorus of his Oreſtes, perſonifying Night, calls upon her to ariſe from Erebus, or the ſhades below,

Πότνια, σοφὴ Νὺξ,
Ἐρεβόθεν ἵθι,———

where, it may be obſerved, the ſcholiaſt rectifies the philoſophy of the poet, by explaining night or darkneſs as really "unſubſtantial," and *merely produced by the abſence of light, or day.*— Κατερχομένου τοῦ ἡλίου εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον, σκότος ἐπάγω τῆς γῆς γίνεται, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν ἀνίεναι δοκοῦν, οὐκ ὡς ὂν ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ ἀνερχόμενον. Ἀλλα τὴ ἀποὺσια τοὺ φωτος τοὺτο ὑφιστατAι. DUNSTER.

Ver. 402. ——— *though* hurried *ſore*,] *Hurried* is here applied to preternatural motion, as in the *Ode on the Paſſion*, ſt. viii. "*Hurried* on viewleſs wing:" where ſee Mr. Warton's note. TODD.

Ver. 408. ——— *and ſoon* with ugly dreams
Diſturb'd his ſleep.] In the *Paradiſe Loſt*, the Tempter begins his Temptation of Eve by working on her imagination in dreams, B. iv. 800, &c. Here it may be obſerved the Tempter tries only "to diſturb our Lord *with ugly dreams*," and not to excite in him, as he did in Eve, "vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate deſires." DUNSTER.

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'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds, 410

Compare the quotation from Bragge's *Sermons*, in the note on ver. 430 of this Book. TODD.

Ver. 409. ——— *And either tropick now 'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds, From many a horrid rift*, &c.] It thundered from both tropicks, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropick, and the left towards the winter tropick. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, Αριστοτέλης, δεξιὰ τῷ κόσμῳ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως· ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δεξιὰ μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν· ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν χειμερινόν· *De Placit. Philos.* ii. 10. Αἰγύπτιοι οἴονται τὰ μὲν ἕῳα τῷ κόσμῳ πρόσωπον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιὰ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερά. Id. *de Isid. p.* 363. If by *either tropick* he meant the *right side* and the *left*, by *both ends of Heaven* may be understood *before* and *behind*. I know it may be objected, that the tropicks cannot be the one the right side, and the other the left, *to those* who are placed without the tropicks; but I do not think that objection to be very material. I have another exposition to offer, which is thus: It thundered all along the Heaven, from the north pole to the tropick of Cancer, from thence to the tropick of Capricorn, from thence to the south pole: from pole to pole. The *ends of Heaven* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil, *Æn.* i. "Intonuere poli,"—"Id est, *extremæ partes cæli—a quibus totum cælum contonuisse significat.*" Servius. JORTIN.

By *either tropick now 'gan thunder* Dr. Newton understands, it thundered from the north and from the south; but he observes that the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour not being within the tropicks. By *and both ends of Heaven*, he understands *from* or at *both ends of Heaven*, the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton. He therefore reads the passage thus:

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From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd

——————— " either tropick now
" 'Gan thunder, and, both ends of Heaven, the clouds
" From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd &c."

I agree that by *either tropick* Milton moſt probably meant that it thundered from the north and ſouth; but I conceive that by *both ends of Heaven* he means eaſt and weſt, the points where the ſun riſes and ſets; as his purpoſe is to deſcribe a general ſtorm, not coming from any particular quarter, nor only from north and ſouth, but from every point of the horizon at once. This ſtorm, as Dr. Newton has ſuggeſted, is very much like one in Taſſo, which was raiſed in the ſame manner by evil ſpirits, *Gier. Lib.* c. vii. ſt. 114, 115. DUNSTER.

This paſſage of the poet is indeed conducted, like the proffered entertainment in the ſecond Book, on the principles of romance: Thus alſo, in Hawes's *Paſtime of Pleaſure*, bl. l. 1554, where the knight diſcomfits the enchantment, he is attacked by a ſpirit

——————— " whiche ſuche ſmoke did caſt
" That all the yland was full tenebrous;
" It thundred loud with claps tempeſtious, &c."

But, on victory declaring for the knight,

" The ſpirite vaniſhed, the ayre waxed cleare."

Compare verſes 429, 430, of this Book. TODD.

Ver. 410. ——————— *the clouds,*
From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, &c.] This ſtorm of Milton will loſe nothing by a compariſon with the celebrated ones of Homer in his fifth *Odyſſey*, and of Virgil in his firſt *Æneid*. It is painted from nature, and in the boldeſt ſtyle.—The night is a *lowering one*, with a heavy overcharged atmoſphere. The ſtorm commences with thunder from every part of the Heavens. The rain then pours down in ſudden precipitated torrents, finely marked, by the epithet *abortive* as materially different from the gradual progreſſion of the moſt violent common ſhowers; and the lightnings ſeem to burſt in a tremendous manner from *horrid rifts*, from the moſt internal receſſes of the ſky. To make the horrour complete, the winds, as is often the

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Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire
In ruin reconcil'd: nor ſlept the winds

caſe in thoſe countries where thunder ſtorms are moſt violent, join their force to that of the other two elements. Violent winds do not often attend violent thunder ſtorms in this country; and therefore Mr. Thyer has thought it neceſſary to obſerve that the accounts we have of hurricanes in the Weſt Indies agree pretty much to this deſcription. But ſuch ſtorms are not confined to tropical ſituations, or even to countries approaching towards them. DUNSTER.

Ver. 411. *From many a horrid* rift, *abortive pour'd*
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd,] So, as Mr. Dunſter notes, Virg. *Æn.* iii. 196.

" Involvêre diem nimbi, et nox humida cœlum
" Abſtulit: ingeminant *abruptis nubibus* ignes."

But Lucretius is here the original; ſee lib. ii. 213, 215. At the ſame time, the " *riven cloudes* and molten firmament" of Spenſer muſt not be forgotten, *Facr. Qu.* i. viii. 9. TODD.

Ver. 412. ——————— *water with fire*
In ruin *reconcil'd:*] Dr. Warburton underſtands this, *joined together to do hurt.* Mr. Thyer ſays it is a bold figure borrowed from Æſchylus's deſcription of the ſtorm that ſcattered the Grecian fleet, *Agamem.* v. 559.

Ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ, ὅστις ἴχθυσι το πρὶν,
Πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, κ. τ. λ.

But I apprehend Dr. Newton ſees the paſſage in its true light, when he ſays it only means *the fire and water fell,* (i. e. *ruſh'd down,*) *together,* according to Milton's uſage of the word *ruin,* Paradiſe Loſt, B. i. 46, and *ruining,* B. vi. 868. Thus alſo, ver. 436. of this Book: " After a night of ſtorm ſo *ruinous.*"
DUNSTER.

Ver. 413. ——————— *nor ſlept the winds*
Within their ſtony caves,] Virgil deſcribes the winds as placed by Jupiter in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the controul of their god Æolus, *Æn.* i. 521.

——————— " Hic *vaſto* rex Æolus *antro*
" Luctantes ventos tempeſtatéſque ſonoras
" Imperio premit, &c."

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Within their ſtony caves, but ruſh'd abroad
From the four hinges of the world, and fell
On the vex'd wilderneſs, whoſe talleſt pines,
Though rooted deep as high, and ſturdieſt oaks,
Bow'd their ſtiff necks, loaden with ſtormy blaſts,
Or torn up ſheer. Ill waſt thou ſhrouded then,
O patient Son of God, yet only ſtood'ſt
Unſhaken! Nor yet ſtaid the terrour there;

Lucan alſo ſpeaks of the "ſtony priſon" of the winds, lib. v. 609. And ſee Lucretius, lib. vi. DUNSTER.

Ver. 414. ——————— *but* ruſh'd *abroad*
From the four hinges *of the world,*] That is, from the four cardinal points; *cardo* ſignifying both a *hinge* and a *cardinal point*, Virgil, *Æn.* i. 85.

"*Una* Eurúſque Notúſque *ruunt*, crebérque procellis
"Africus." NEWTON.

Ver. 416. *On the* vex'd *wilderneſs,*] Mr. Dunſter obſerves that Milton frequently uſes *vex* in its Latin ſenſe, as deſcribing the effects of a ſtorm; *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 306, and B. iii. 429. *Vex'd*, I apprehend, might not be uncommon, in this ſenſe, in Milton's time. Thus, in Shakſpeare's *Tempeſt*, A. i. S. ii. "The ſtill-*vex'd* Bermoothes." Again, *K. Lear*, A. iv. S. iv. "As mad as the *vex'd* ſea." TODD.

Ver. 417. *Though rooted deep as high*, &c.] Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 445.

——————— "Quantum vertice ad auras
"Ætherias, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit."
RICHARDSON.

Ver. 418. ——————— loaden *with ſtormy blaſts,*] This has ſome reſemblance to Horace's "aquilonibus querceta Gargani *laborant*," Od. II. ix. DUNSTER.

Ver. 420. ——————— *yet only ſtood'ſt*
Unſhaken!] Milton ſeems to have raiſed this ſcene out of what he found in Euſebius *de Dem. Evan.* (Lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 434. Ed. Col.) The learned father obſerves, that

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Infernal ghoſts and helliſh furies round
Environ'd thee, ſome howl'd, ſome yell'd, ſome
ſhriek'd,

Chriſt was tempted forty days, and the ſame number of nights. Καὶ ἐπειδάσθη ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταῖς τοσαύταις νυξὶν ἐπειράζετο. And to theſe night-temptations he applies what is ſaid in the *Pſalm* xci. 5. and 6. Οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ, *Thou ſhalt not be afraid for any terror by night,*—ἀπὸ πράγματος ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου, *nor for the danger that walketh in darkneſs.* The firſt is thus paraphraſed in the Targum, (though with a meaning very different from Euſebius's) "Non timebis *à timore Dæmonum qui ambulant in nocte.*" The fiends *ſurround* our Redeemer with their threats and terrours; but they have no effect.

CALTON.

Ver. 422. *Infernal ghoſts and helliſh furies round*
Environ'd thee, ſome howl'd, ſome yell'd, &c.] This too is from Euſebius, ibid. p. 435. Ἐπεὶπερ ἐν τῷ πειράζειν δύναμις πονηραὶ ἐκύκλουν αὐτόν. —"quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ poteſtates *illum circumſtabant.*" And their repulſe, it ſeems, is alſo predicted in the 7th verſe of the xciſt Pſalm: *A thouſand ſhall fall beſide thee, and ten thouſand at thy right hand, but it ſhall not come nigh thee.* CALTON.

Dr. Warburton and Dr. Jortin both obſerve that this deſcription is taken from the legend, or the pictures, of the *Temptation of St. Anthony.* Taſſo has a deſcription ſomewhat ſimilar, where Armida, having loſt Rinaldo, and returning to deſtroy her palace, aſſembles her attendant ſpirits in a ſtorm, c. xvi. ſt. 67.

"Quanto gira il palagio, udreſti irati
"Sibili, e urli, e fremiti, e latrati."

We may alſo compare a paſſage in Shakſpeare, which concludes Clarence's relation of his horrid dream in the Tower juſt before he is murdered, *Rich.* III. A. i. S. v.

"With that, methought, *a legion of foul fiends*
"*Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears*
"Such hideous cries, that with the very noiſe
"I trembling wak'd; &c." DUNSTER.

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Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Sat'ſt unappall'd in calm and ſinleſs peace! 425
Thus paſſed the night ſo foul, till Morning fair
Came forth, with pilgrim ſteps, in amice gray;

A paſſage from Fairfax's tranſlation of *Taſſo* appears to have been alſo in the poet's memory, B. ix. ſt. 15.

" Their mantle darke the *griſly* ſhadowes ſpred—
" The moone and ſtars for feare of ſprites were fled;
" The *ſhrieking goblins* each where *howling* flew:
" The *furies* roare, the ghoſts and fairies *yell*,
" The earth was filled with devils, and emptie *hell*."

Mr. Warton, in his manuſcript remarks, is of opinion that Milton copied this tranſlation, B. xvi. 67.

" You might have heard how through the palace wide
" Some ſpirits howl'd, ſome bark'd, ſome hiſt, ſome cride."

However, it cannot but be admitted, that the circumſtances and behaviour of Chriſt are ſimilar to thoſe of the Chriſtian champions in Taſſo's enchanted foreſt, who calmly, and without reſiſtance, view the threats and attacks of a ſurrounding group of the moſt horrid demons. See B. xiii. ſt. 28, 33, 35.

TODD.

Ver. 426. ——————— *till Morning fair*
Came forth, with pilgrim ſteps, in amice gray;] See the notes on *Lycidas*, ver. 187, *Comus*, ver. 188, and *Par. Loſt*, B. vii. 374. TODD.

Ver. 427. ——————— amice gray;] *Amice*, doctor Newton obſerves, a ſignificant word, is derived from the Latin *amicio*, to *clothe*. But this does not hit the full meaning of Milton's imagery. The combination, *amice gray*, is from what is called *grave amictus*, an officiating garment in the Roman ritual, not occurring in Dufreſne. In the Statutes of Trinity College, Oxford, given in 1556, it is ordered that, on holidays, in the chapel the Preſident ſhall be veſted " *graio amictu*." In thoſe of Magdalene College, Oxford, given in 1459, the Preſident, on like ſolemnities, is to appear " indutus *griſio amiſſio*." Cap. xxxix. Skelton introduces all the birds ſinging

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Who with her radiant finger ſtill'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,

the obſequies of his *Philip Sparrow*; and, availing himſelf of the *gray* colour of the falcon, ſuppoſes that ſhe performed her part of the maſs in the "*amiſſe* of *gray*," Boke of Ph. Sparrow, p. 231. edit. Lond. 1736. In a controverſy about church-habits, our author applies *amice* in a much leſs poetical ſenſe: "We have heard of Aaron and his linen *amice*, &c." Pr. W. i. 100. ed. 1698. *Amice* occurs ſimply for a prieſt's ſervice-habit in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. iv. 18. T. WARTON.

The *amice gray* appears not to have been confined to eccleſiaſtics. In an ancient black-letter book, entitled "Order of my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs, for their meeting and wearing their apparel throughout the whole year," is the following diſcriminative injunction: "The Lord Mayor, and thoſe Knights that have borne the office of Majoralty, ought to have their cloaks furred with *gray amis*; and thoſe Aldermen that have not been Mayors are to have their cloaks furred with calabre." TODD.

Ver. 428. *Who with her radiant finger ſtill'd the roar*
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds, &c.]
This is an imitation of a paſſage in the firſt *Æneid* of Virgil, where Neptune is repreſented with his trident laying the ſtorm which Æolus had raiſed, ver. 142.

"Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,
"*Collectáſque fugat nubes*, ſolémque reducit."

There is the greater beauty in the Engliſh poet, as the ſcene he is deſcribing under this charming figure is perfectly conſiſtent with the courſe of nature; nothing being more common than to ſee a ſtormy night ſucceeded by a pleaſant, ſerene morning.
THYER.

That Milton had here in his mind the ΡΟΔΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΣ Ἠώς, *the roſy-finger'd Aurora*, of Homer and Heſiod, muſt be ſuppoſed; but while *roſy-fingered* is the proper epithet of the dawn, which immediately precedes the riſing of the ſun, the early morning, when the ſun is abſolutely riſen, is juſtly deſcribed with *radiant*, inſtead of *roſy*, fingers. In availing himſelf of the heathen poet's

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And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd

mode of characterising the dawn, I conceive, our author had an eye to *the finger of God*. Exodus, viii. 19. Luke xi. 20. It is observable that to *still the roar of the storm* is also a scriptural phrase. Psalm lxv. 9.—lxxxix. 7.—It is needless to suggest to the reader of taste how much more the beauty and imagery of this passage strikes us, when we consider it with a view to these scriptural allusions. *Aurora*, or the dawn, *rising with rosy fingers*, with a tint of red in the extreme parts of her person that first emerge, is a *pleasing* image; but Morning *with her radiant finger stilling the storm of the preceding night* is a truly *sublime* one. DUNSTER.

Ver. 430. *And grisly spectres*, &c.] See our author's *Ode on the Nativity*, st. xxvi. where he beautifully applies the vulgar superstition of spirits disappearing at the break of day, as the ground-work of a comparison. He supposes that all the false deities of every species of the heathen theology departed at the birth of Christ, as spectres and demons vanish when the morning dawns. Under the same superstitious belief, Milton here makes the fiends retire, who had been assembled in the night to terrify our Saviour, when the morn arose. The moment of the evanescence of spirits was supposed to be limited to the crowing of the cock. This superstition is mentioned so early as by Prudentius, *Cathem.* Hymn. i. ver. 38. But some of his commentators, and those not easily to be found, prove it to be of much higher antiquity.

It is a most inimitable circumstance in Shakspeare so to have managed this popular idea, as to make the ghost in *Hamlet*, which has been so long obstinately silent, and of course must be dismissed by the morning, begin or rather prepare to speak, and be interrupted, at the very critical time of the crowing of a cock. This interruption is thus finely touched, A. i. S. i.

" BER. It was about to speak when the cock crew.

" HOR. And then it started, like a guilty thing
" Upon a fearful summons."

Another poet, according to custom, would have suffered his ghosts tamely to vanish, without contriving this start, which is like a start of guilt. To say nothing of the aggravation of the

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To tempt the Son of God with terrours dire.
And now the ſun with more effectual beams
Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet

future ſuſpence, occaſioned by this preparation to ſpeak and to impart ſome myſterious ſecret. Leſs would have been expected, had nothing been premiſed. T. WARTON.

Ver. 431. *To tempt the Son of God* &c.] An eminent and excellent divine is of the ſame opinion as the poet with reſpect to *the evil Spirits which the Fiend raiſed*, when he tempted our Lord: "This, as we may probably ſuppoſe, was the Devil's way of tempting or trying our Lord, during the forty days and nights of his faſt; and many opportunities, no doubt, he had in ſo long a time, *by frightful dreams when he ſlept, frequent apparitions and illuſions of evil Spirits in the night*, &c." Bragge on the Miracles, vol. ii. p. 12. TODD.

Ver. 432. *And now the ſun with more effectual beams*
Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet
From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more freſh and green,
After a night of ſtorm ſo ruinous,
Clear'd up their choiceſt notes in buſh and ſpray,
To gratulate the ſweet return of morn.] There is in this deſcription all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy. We may compare an evening ſcene of the ſame kind, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. ii. 488—495. THYER.

It is impoſſible to forbear remarking, that the preceding deſcription exhibits ſome of the fineſt lines which Milton has written in all his poems. JOS. WARTON.

Mr. Dunſter here refers the reader to part of a beautiful ſonnet of Spenſer, where the poet is comparing the ſmiles of his miſtreſs, breaking out after ſome cloudy looks, (*Sonnet* xl.) He notices alſo Taſſo's deſcription of a ſea-ſtorm inſtantly changed into a perfect calm, by means of the magical bark in which the two knights ſail in ſearch of Rinaldo, *Gier. Lib.* c. xv. ſt. 9. But this delightful paſſage of Milton perhaps defies a parallel. So picturesque a ſcene beſpeaks the finiſhed hand of an inimitable maſter. TODD.

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From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more freſh and green,
After a night of ſtorm ſo ruinous,
Clear'd up their choiceſt notes in buſh and ſpray,
To gratulate the ſweet return of morn.
Nor yet, amidſt this joy and brighteſt morn,
Was abſent, after all his miſchief done,
The Prince of darkneſs; glad would alſo ſeem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
Yet with no new device, (they all were ſpent,)
Rather by this his laſt affront reſolv'd,
Deſperate of better courſe, to vent his rage
And mad deſpite to be ſo oft repell'd.
Him walking on a ſunny hill he found,
Back'd on the north and weſt by a thick wood;
Out of the wood he ſtarts in wonted ſhape,
And in a careleſs mood thus to him ſaid.
Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
After a diſmal night: I heard the wrack,
As earth and ſky would mingle; but myſelf

Ver. 449. ——————— *in* wonted *ſhape*,] That is, in *his own proper ſhape*, and not under any diſguiſe, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our bleſſed Lord. He comes now hopeleſs of ſucceſs, without device or diſguiſe, and, as the poet expreſsly ſays,

"Deſperate of better courſe, to vent his rage
"And mad deſpite to be ſo oft repell'd." DUNSTER.

Compare *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 819.

"So *ſtarted* up *in his own ſhape* the Fiend." TODD.

Ver. 453. *As* earth *and* ſky *would* mingle;] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 137.

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Was diſtant; and theſe flaws, though mortals fear them
As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,
Or to the earth's dark baſis underneath,
Are to the main as inconſiderable
And harmleſs, if not wholeſome, as a ſneeze
To man's leſs univerſe, and ſoon are gone;
Yet, as being oft times noxious where they light
On man, beaſt, plant, waſteful and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whoſe heads they roar, and ſeem to point,
They oft fore-ſignify and threaten ill:
This tempeſt at this deſart moſt was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'ſt.
Did I not tell thee, if thou didſt reject
The perfect ſeaſon offer'd with my aid

" Jam *cælum terrâmque* meo ſine numine, venti,
" *Miſcere*, et tantas audetis tollere moles?"

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 454. ——— *theſe* flaws,] *Flaw* is a ſea term, as Mr. Dunſter obſerves, for a ſudden ſtorm, or guſt of wind. See the note on *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 697. TODD.

Ver. 455. *As dangerous to the* pillar'd *frame of Heaven*,] So alſo, *Comus*, v. 597;

——— " if this fail,
" The *pillar'd firmament* is rottenneſs."

In both, no doubt, alluding to *Job*, xxvi. 11. " The *pillars of Heaven* tremble, and are aſtoniſh'd at his reproof." THYER.

Ver. 467. *Did I not tell thee, if thou didſt reject*
The perfect ſeaſon offer'd with my aid &c.] Here is ſomething to be underſtood after *Did I not tell thee?* The

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To win thy deſtin'd ſeat, but wilt prolong
All to the puſh of fate, purſue thy way
Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,
For both the when and how is no where told?
Thou ſhalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
The time and means. Each act is rightlieſt done,
Not when it muſt, but when it may be beſt:
If thou obſerve not this, be ſure to find,
What I foretold thee, many a hard aſſay
Of dangers, and adverſities, and pains,
Ere thou of Iſrael's ſcepter get faſt hold;
Whereof this ominous night, that clos'd thee round,
So many terrours, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a ſure fore-going ſign.

thing told we may ſuppoſe to be what Satan had before ſaid, B. iii. 351.

——— " Thy kingdom, though foretold
" By Prophet, or by Angel, unleſs thou
" Endeavour, as thy father David did,
" Thou never ſhalt obtain; &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 472. *For both the when and how is no where told?*] Compare Dante, *Paradis.* ver. 46.

" Ma quella, ond' io aſpetto il come, e'l quando
" Del dire, e del tacer, ſi ſta, ond' io,
" Contra 'l diſio fo ben ch' io non dimando." TODD.

Ver. 478. *What I foretold thee,* &c.] See ver. 374, and ver. 381 to v. 389 of this Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. ——— *this* ominous *night,*] This *portentous,* this *dangerous,* night. See Mr. Warton's note on " *ominous* wood," *Com.* ver. 61. TODD.

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So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And ſtaid not, but in brief him anſwer'd thus.
Me worſe than wet thou find'ſt not; other harm
Thoſe terrours, which thou ſpeak'ſt of, did me none;
I never fear'd they could, though noiſing loud
And threatening nigh: what they can do, as ſigns
Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn
As falſe portents, not ſent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I ſhall reign paſt thy preventing,
Obtrud'ſt thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,
At leaſt might ſeem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious Spirit! and wouldſt be thought my God;
And ſtorm'ſt refus'd, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will! deſiſt, (thou art diſcern'd,
And toil'ſt in vain,) nor me in vain moleſt.
To whom the Fiend, now ſwoln with rage, replied.
Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt;

Ver. 500. *Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,*
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt;] That Satan ſhould ſeriouſly addreſs our Lord as "Virgin-born," *becauſe* he entertained doubts whether he was in any reſpect the Son of God, is palpably inconſequent. "To be born of a virgin," Mr. Calton obſerves from Bp. Pearſon, in a ſubſequent note, "is not ſo far above the production of all mankind as to place our Lord in that ſingular eminence, which muſt be attributed to *the only-begotten Son of God.*" But it muſt be recollected, that the ſubject of this poem is a trial *ad probandum* whether the perſon declared to be Son of God was really the Meſſiah: to acknowledge

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Of the Meſſiah I had heard foretold
By all the Prophets; of thy birth at length,
Announc'd by Gabriel, with the firſt I knew,
And of the angelick ſong in Bethlehem field,
On thy birth-night that ſung thee Saviour born.
From that time ſeldom have I ceas'd to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood laſt, though yet in private bred;
Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flock to the Baptiſt, I among the reſt,
(Though not to be baptiz'd,) by voice from Heaven

therefore that he was beyond all diſpute born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled ſo material a prophecy reſpecting the Meſſiah, would be to admit in ſome degree the point in queſtion. And however "Virgin-born" might not be ſuppoſed to aſcertain in any degree the claim to the Meſſiahſhip, ſtill it could never be uſed in an addreſs to our Lord meant to lower him to "mere man." "Son of David," ſingle and by itſelf, was an expreſſion that Satan might be expected to uſe, when, characteriſing our Lord as a mere human being, he profeſſed to diſbelieve that he was the Son God, born in a miraculous manner of a pure virgin, as it was foretold the Meſſiah ſhould be. "Virgin-born" then muſt be conſidered as intended to be highly ſarcaſtick. It is an epithet of the moſt pointed deriſion; reſembling the HAIL KING OF THE JEWS, *and they ſmote him with their hands.* It is that ſpecious of blaſphemous inſult, which might be expected from the Arch-Fiend, who at the opening of the ſpeech is deſcribed "ſwoln with rage." DUNSTER.

Dr. Joſeph Warton is alſo of opinion, that "Virgin-born," is here an highly ſarcaſtical expreſſion. TODD.

Ver. 502. *Of the Meſſiah I* had *heard foretold*] All the editions read "*have* heard." *Had* ſeems abſolutely requiſite. DUNSTER.

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Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower ſcrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God; which bears no ſingle ſenſe.
The Son of God I alſo am, or was;
And if I was, I am; relation ſtands;
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In ſome reſpect far higher ſo declar'd:
Therefore I watch'd thy footſteps from that hour,
And follow'd thee ſtill on to this waſte wild;
Where, by all beſt conjectures, I collect
Thou art to be my fatal enemy:
Good reaſon then, if I before-hand ſeek
To underſtand my adverſary, who
And what he is; his wiſdom, power, intent;
By parl or compoſition, truce or league,
To win him, or win from him what I can:
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, ſift thee, and confeſs have found thee
Proof againſt all temptation, as a rock

Ver. 523. ——————— *to this* waſte wild;] So, in *Par. L.* i. 60. "A diſmal ſituation, *waſte* and *wild*." And B. iii. 424. "A boundleſs continent, dark, *waſte*, and *wild*." TODD.

Ver. 533. Proof *againſt all temptat'on, as a* rock
Of adamant,] Compare Spenſer, *Fuer. Qu.* i. vi. 4.

"But words, and lookes, and ſighs, ſhe did abhore,
"*As rock of diamond ſtedfaſt evermore.*"

Rock of adamant is a phraſe in Sandys's *Job*, p. 29. ed. 1648, and in Shirley's *Impoſture*, p. 67. ed. 1652. TODD.

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Of adamant, and, as a center, firm;
To the utmoſt of mere Man both wiſe and good,
Not more; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
Have been before contemn'd, and may again.
Therefore, to know what more thou art than Man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
Another method I muſt now begin.

So ſaying he caught him up, and, without wing
Of hippogrif, bore through the air ſublime,

Ver. 534. ——— *as a center, firm;*] Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, ed. Urr. ver. 14.

" Of his courage, as any centre, ſtable." DUNSTER.

Ver. 538. ——— *what more thou art than Man,*
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,] See Bp. Pearſon on the Creed, p. 106. " We muſt find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's filiation, totally diſtinct from any which belongs unto the reſt of the ſons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*. For although to be born of a virgin be in itſelf miraculous, yet is it not ſo far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that ſingular eminence, which muſt be attributed to the *only-begotten*. We read of *Adam the Son of God* as well as *Seth the Son of Adam*: (Luke, iii. 38.) and ſurely the framing Chriſt out of a woman cannot ſo far tranſcend the making Adam out of the earth, as to cauſe ſo great a diſtance, as we muſt believe, between the firſt and ſecond Adam." CALTON.

Ver. 541. ——— *without wing*
Of hippogrif,] Here Milton deſigned a reflection upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Arioſto. Arioſto frequently makes uſe of the *hippogrif* to convey his heroes from place to place. NEWTON.

Not intended, (as Dr. Newton ſuppoſes,) as a reflection upon the Italian poets, but as an alluſion merely to his favourite Arioſto, whoſe charming fancies he could not forget even in his old age. JOS. WARTON.

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Over the wilderneſs and o'er the plain,
Till underneath them fair Jeruſalem,
The holy city, lifted high her towers,
And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaſter, topt with golden ſpires:
There, on the higheſt pinnacle, he ſet
The Son of God; and added thus in ſcorn.

Ver. 545. *The holy city,*] Jeruſalem is frequently ſo called in the Old Teſtament. It is alſo called the *holy city* by St. Matthew, who wrote his goſpel for the uſe of the Jewiſh converts; but by him only, of the four Evangeliſts. Dr. Townſon having obſerved, that "St. Matthew alone, of all the Evangeliſts, aſcribes thoſe titles of ſanctity to Jeruſalem, by which it had been diſtinguiſhed by the prophets and ſacred hiſtorians, and was known among the neighbouring nations," thus accounts for this difference between him and the other Evangeliſts, on the ſuppoſition that St. Matthew was, as he has generally been ſuppoſed to be, the earlieſt writer of the four. "After ſome years the word of God, being received by multitudes in various parts of the world, did as it were ſanctify other cities; while Jeruſalem, by rancorous oppoſition to the truth, and ſanguinary perſecution of it, more and more declined in the eſteem of the believers. They acknowledged the title and character which ſhe claimed by ancient preſcription, when St. Matthew wrote; but between the publication of his goſpel and the next, they were taught to transfer the idea of the holy city to a worthier object." Townſon's *Diſcourſes*, Diſc. iv. S. 3. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *lifted high her towers,*] Sandys, deſcribing *Jeruſalem*, gives a minute account of the remarkable *height* of her various towers; ſome of which, he adds, were topt *with ſpires*, as Milton ſays, ver. 548. See his *Travels*, edit, 1615, pp. 156, 157. TODD.

Ver. 549. *There, on the higheſt pinnacle, he ſet*
The Son of God;] He has choſen to follow the order obſerved by St. Luke, in placing this Temptation laſt,

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There ſtand, if thou wilt ſtand; to ſtand upright
Will aſk thee ſkill; I to thy Father's houſe

becauſe if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the middle, it would have broke that fine thread of moral reaſoning, which is obſerved in the courſe of the other Temptations. THYER.

In the Goſpel account of the Temptation, no diſcovery is made of the Incarnation; and this grand myſtery is as little known to the Tempter at the end, as at the beginning. But now, according to Milton's ſcheme, the poem was to be cloſed with a full diſcovery of it. There are *three* circumſtances therefore, in which the poet, to ſerve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the goſpels.

1. The criticks have not been able to aſcertain what the πτερύγιον or *pinnacle* (as we tranſlate it) was, on which Chriſt was ſet by the Demon: but whatever it was, the Evangeliſts make no difficulty of his ſtanding there. This the poet (following the common uſe of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) ſuppoſeth to be ſomething like thoſe on the battlements of our churches, a pointed ſpire, on which Chriſt could not ſtand without a miracle.

2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Chriſt give proof of his pretenſions by ſtanding on the pinnacle, or by caſting himſelf down. In the Goſpels, the laſt only is or could be ſuggeſted.

3. In the Goſpel account the prohibition *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alledged only as a reaſon why Chriſt (whoſe divinity is concealed there) muſt not throw himſelf down from the top of the temple, becauſe this would have been *tempting God.* But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Chriſt; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God.*

CALTON.

Bp. Pearce ſuppoſes what is in the goſpel called πτερύγιον, and commonly tranſlated *pinnacle*, to have been rather *a wing of the temple*, a flat part of the roof of one of its courts; probably on that ſide where the Royal Portico was, and where the valley on the outſide was the deepeſt. Joſephus (*Antiquit.* xv. 11. 5.) ſays, "whereas the valley was ſo deep that a man could ſcarcely ſee the bottom of it, Herod built a Portico of ſo vaſt a height, that if a man looked from the roof of it, his head would grow giddy, and his ſight not be able to reach from that height to the

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Have brought thee, and higheſt plac'd: higheſt
is beſt:

bottom of the valley." Euſebius, (*Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* ii. 23.) cites the account given by Hegeſippus of the death of James the Apoſtle, in which it is ſaid that the Scribes and Phariſees brought him ἐπὶ τὸ ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ τοῦ ναοῦ, up to *this elevated point* of the temple, and caſt him down from thence. Milton, as Mr. Thyer has obſerved, follows the order of the temptations as related by St. Luke. It is remarked by Mr. Gilpin that the temptations ſeem more naturally introduced by St. Matthew, and that the leaſt temptation (according to his order, but which Luke makes the ſecond,) was ſo abominable in its nature, that it ſeemed moſt likely to be that which occaſioned Jeſus to drive the Devil from him. Milton, he ſubjoins, thought otherwiſe. *Expoſit. of New Teſt.* Luke iv. 12. Without controverting this juſt and ſenſible remark, we may obſerve that St. Luke's order ſuited the poet beſt; eſpecially as he did not adopt the idea of making the whole a ſucceſſion of viſionary ſcenes raiſed by the power of the Tempter on one and the ſame ſpot: which alſo did not ſuit his purpoſe. By making each ſcene more real, he gave more room to deſcription; or at leaſt he made his deſcription more intereſting than had its ſubject matter been the *Crambe recocta* of the Italian poets' magical creations. For this purpoſe, he made his own additional Temptation of the banquet as real as poſſible. *He ſpake no dream* &c. B. ii. 337. All this has much more effect than when the ſenſes are confeſſedly deluded, or even ſuppoſed probably to be ſo, with a "*videt, aut vidiſſe putat.*" Accordingly the two firſt Temptations of the poet are finely brought forward as being in different parts of the WILDERNESS. The ſcene then changes to the SPECULAR MOUNT for the ſecond Temptation of St. Luke; but returns to the WILDERNESS, where the ſtorm has its due place, with the nobleſt effect. Again the ſcene changes entirely for the laſt Temptation of Milton and St. Luke. This latter Temptation, as Milton has managed it, has ſomething more of a miraculous nature, and has more effect in poetical deſcription. It likewiſe paves the way ſo admirably for the ſublime concluſion, that I cannot agree with the amiable author of the Expoſition, that Milton could

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Now ſhow thy progeny; if not to ſtand,
Caſt thyſelf down; ſafely, if Son of God:
For it is written, "He will give command
"Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
"They ſhall up lift thee, leſt at any time
"Thou chance to daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone."
To whom thus Jeſus: Alſo it is written,
"Tempt not the Lord thy God." He ſaid, and
ſtood:

poſſibly have ſhewn himſelf to more advantage by any other method of detailing theſe Temptations. I have obſerved how admirably Milton makes the Devil recover himſelf after the failure of his groſsly blaſphemous inſult on the Divine object of his art, ſo as to proceed towards the remaining Temptation. I muſt obſerve alſo that the laſt change of ſcene to JERUSALEM, and the manner of it, have much of ancient claſſical, or later Italian, deſcription. At all events, it breaks with admirable effect the colloquial part of the Poem, which no ſucceſſion of viſionary ſcenes, however exquiſitely deſcribed, could have done to the ſame advantage. DUNSTER.

Ver. 561. "*Tempt not the Lord thy God.*" *He ſaid, and ſtood:*] Here is what we may call after Ariſtotle the ἀναγνώρισις, or the diſcovery. Chriſt declares himſelf to be the God and Lord of the Tempter; and to prove it, ſtands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning. 1. The miracle ſhows it to be ſo; which is otherwiſe impertinently introduced, and againſt the rule,

"Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus
"Inciderit."

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allowed before.

2. There is a connection between Chriſt's *ſaying* and *ſtanding*, which demonſtrates that he *ſtood*, in proof of ſomething he had *ſaid*. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the Lord thy God*, as alleged in the Goſpels from the Old Teſtament, was in no want

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But Satan, ſmitten with amazement, fell.
As when Earth's ſon Antæus, (to compare

of ſuch an atteſtation: but a miracle was wanting to juſtify the application of it to the Tempter's attack upon Chriſt; it was for this end therefore that he ſtood. CALTON.

I cannot entirely approve this learned gentleman's expoſition. I am for underſtanding the words, *Alſo it is written, Tempt not the Lord thy God*, in the ſame ſenſe in which they were ſpoken in the Goſpels; becauſe I would not make the poem to differ from the Goſpel account, farther than neceſſity compels, or more than the poet himſelf has made it. The Tempter ſets our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there requires of him a proof of his divinity, either by ſtanding, or by caſting himſelf down, as he might ſafely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Pſalmiſt. To this our Saviour anſwers, as he anſwers in the Goſpels, *It is written again, Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, tacitly inferring that his caſting himſelf down would be tempting of God. *He ſaid*, that is, he gave this reaſon for not caſting himſelf down, *and ſtood*. His *ſtanding* properly makes the diſcovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter required: *Now ſhow thy progeny*. His *ſtanding* convinces Satan. His *ſtanding* is conſidered as the diſplay of his divinity, and the immediate cauſe of Satan's *fall*; and the grand contraſt is formed between the *ſtanding* of the one, and the *fall* of the other.

——————" He ſaid, and *ſtood*:
" But Satan, ſmitten with amazement, *fell*."

and afterwards, ver. 571:

" *Fell* whence he ſtood to ſee his victor fall."

NEWTON.

The expreſſion " *He ſaid and ſtood*:" is in the manner of Homer, *Il.* vii. 354.

Ἤ τοι ὁ γ' ὡς ἐπέων, κατ' ἄρ' ἵζετο. DUNSTER.

Ver. 563. —— *Earth's ſon Antæus*,] This ſimile in the perſon of the poet is amazingly fine. WARBURTON.

Ibid. —————————— (*to compare*
Small things with greateſt,)] This is the third time

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Small things with greateſt,) in Iraſſa ſtrove
With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foil'd, ſtill roſe,
Receiving from his mother Earth new ſtrength,

Milton has imitated Virgil's "ſic parvis componere magna ſolebam." *Ecl.* i. 24. See *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. ii. 921, B. x. 306. Some ſuch mode of qualifying common ſimilies is neceſſary to a poet writing on divine ſubjects. DUNSTER.

Ver. 564. ——————— *in Iraſſa*] *Antæus* dwelt at the city *Iraſſa*, according to Pindar. But it was not there that he wreſtled with *Hercules*, but at *Lixos*, according to Pliny; "Lixos vel fabuloſiſſime antiquis narrata. Ibi regia Antæi, certamenque cum Hercule." *Nat. Hiſt.* Lib. v. Cap. 1.
MEADOWCOURT.

Ver. 565. *With Jove's Alcides,*] There were ſo many Hercules in the Grecian mythology and hiſtory, that it was neceſſary to ſpecify when the principal Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, was meant. Thus Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* L. iii. 16. "Quanquam quem potiſſimum Herculem colamus, ſcire ſane velim; plures enim nobis tradunt ii, qui interiores ſcrutantur et reconditas literas; antiquiſſimum *Jove natum.*" Varro ſays there were forty-three Hercules. It may be obſerved that, though *Hercules* the ſon of Jupiter is introduced with propriety, the ſon of Jupiter by Alcmena had no right to be called *Alcides*, this being the proper name of the ſon of Amphitryon, whoſe father was *Alcæus*. And yet Virgil alſo refers to *Alcides* as the *Son of Jove*, Æn. vi. 123. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——————— *and, oft foil'd, ſtill roſe,*] Thus in Taſſo, where the Soldan Solyman is ſlain by Rinaldo, the reſiſtance he had before made is compared to that of Antæus, in his conteſt with Hercules, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. ſt. 108.

"Poi che 'l Soldan, che ſpeſſo in lunga guerra,
"Quaſi novello Anteo, cadde e riſorſe
"Piu fero ogn' hora, al fin calco la terra
"Per giacer ſempre." DUNSTER.

Ver. 566. *Receiving from his mother Earth new ſtrength,*] So, in Lucan, iv. 598.

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Freſh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,
Throttled at length in the air, expir'd and fell;
So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,
Renewing freſh aſſaults amidſt his pride,
Fell whence he ſtood to ſee his victor fall:
And as that Theban monſter, that propos'd

" Hoc quoque tam vaſtas cumulavit munere *vires*
" *Terra ſui fœtus*, quòd, cùm tetigere parentem,
" Jam defuncta vigent *renovato robore* membra."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 572. *And as that Theban monſter*, &c.] The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being ſolved by Œdipus, threw herſelf into the ſea. Statius, *Theb.* i. 66.

——" Si Sphingos iniquæ
" Callidus ambages, te præmonſtrante, reſolvi."
NEWTON.

The ſame poet refers alſo to the *falling of the Sphinx from the Iſmenian ſteep*, when her riddle was ſolved by Œdipus, *Theb.* xi. 490.

——" dum Cadmus arat? dum *victa cadit Sphinx*?"

The Sphinx is termed by Euripides, (*Phœniſſ.* v. 813.) ὄρειον τέρας, the "*monſter* of the mountain!" And by Lycophron, Σφίγγιον τέρας, (ver. 1465.) where Heyne ſuggeſts the reading Φίκιον τέρας, *the monſter of the mountain Phicius*. Milton ſeems here to have had Apollodorus's account of the Sphinx in his mind; at leaſt there is a great coincidence of expreſſion in the mythologiſt and the poet. Apollodorus ſays the Sphinx *propoſed her riddle* to the Thebans, ΠΡΟΤΤΕΙΝΕ τοῖς Θήβαιους, and that, every time they *failed of finding it out*, ſhe ſeized one of them, *and devoured him*, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ ΜΗ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΟΝ, ἁρπάσας ἐκ ΚΑΤΑΒΙΒΡΩΣΚΕ, that Œdipus, upon hearing it, ſolved it, Οἰδίπους δὲ ἀκούσας ΕΑΥΤΣΕΝ, whereupon *ſhe caſt* HERSELF *headlong* from the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, ΕΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΡΡΙΨΕΝ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως; which laſt words the learned Heyne thinks are an interpolation, *a malâ manu inſertum*, as the mountain Phicius to-

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Her riddle, and him who ſolv'd it not devour'd,
That once found out and ſolv'd, for grief and ſpite
Caſt herſelf headlong from the Iſmenian ſteep;
So, ſtruck with dread and anguiſh, fell the Fiend,
And to his crew, that ſat conſulting, brought
(Joyleſs triumphals of his hop'd ſucceſs,)
Ruin, and deſperation, and diſmay,
Who durſt ſo proudly tempt the Son of God.
So Satan fell; and ſtraight a fiery globe
Of Angels on full ſail of wing flew nigh,

wards Oncheſtos, (Pauſan. ix. 26.) was allowedly the haunt of the Sphinx. At the ſame time he obſerves that ſhe was ſuppoſed at times to approach the walls of the Cadmea in ſearch of prey. (Euripid. *Phœniſſ.* 815, 816.) As Phicius was a mountain in the Theban territory, either that, or the Cadmea, might termed the *Iſmenian ſteep*, from the river Iſmenus, which ran by Thebes; ὁ γὰρ Ασωπος, καὶ Ὁ ΙΣΜΗΝΟΣ διὰ τῦ αὐλῶν ῥέουσι τῦ πρὸ τῶν Θηβῶν. Strabo. ix. p. 408. *Iſmenus* is thus frequently uſed by the Latin poets for *Theban*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 581. *So Satan fell; and ſtraight* &c.] Thus in G. Fletcher's *Chriſt's Triumph on Earth*, where Preſumption is perſonified, and repreſented as in vain tempting our bleſſed Lord, ſt. xxxviii.

"But, when ſhe ſaw her ſpeech prevailed nought,
"Herſelf ſhe tumbled headlong to the floor;
"But him the Angels on their feathers caught,
"And to an airy mountain nimbly bore." DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *and ſtraight a fiery globe*
Of Angels on full ſail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans &c.] There is a peculiar ſoftneſs and delicacy in this deſcription, and neither circumſtances nor words could be better ſelected to give the reader an idea of the eaſy and gentle deſcent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horrour and uneaſineſs which it is naturally

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Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him ſoft
From his uneaſy ſtation, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;

filled with in contemplating the dangerous and uneaſy ſituation he was left in. THYER.

So Pſyche was carried down from the rock by Zephyrs, and laid lightly on a green and flowery bank, and there entertained with inviſible muſick. See Apuleius, Lib. iv. RICHARDSON.

Mr. Richardſon might have added that Pſyche was alſo entertained with a banquet miniſtered by Spirits. See the end of the fourth book of the *Metamorphoſes*, and the beginning of the fifth. DUNSTER.

It ſhould alſo be added that the *globe of Angels* was perhaps ſuggeſted by G. Fletcher, *Chriſt's Triumph*, ſt. 13.

——————" out there flies
" *A globe of* winged *Angels*, ſwift as thought."

See alſo *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 512. TODD.

Ver. 583. *Who on their plumy vans receiv'd* him *ſoft*
From his uneaſy ſtation, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;] If this deſcription is not from any famous painting, it is certainly a ſubject for one. But the grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, cannot be palliated. *Him*, according to the common conſtruction of language, certainly muſt refer to Satan, the perſon laſt mentioned. The intended ſenſe of the paſſage cannot indeed be miſunderſtood; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a part of the poem ſo eminently beautiful. DUNSTER.

Ver. 585. —————— *through the* blithe *air;*] Which way ſoever I turn this term *blithe*, it conveys no idea to me ſuitable to the place it occupies: nor do my dictionaries aid me in the leaſt. The place is certainly corrupted, and ought to run thus, " through the *lithe* air." Milton uſes the word in his *Par. Loſt* in the ſenſe required here, " and wreath'd his *lithe* proboſcis," B. iv. 347. I make no doubt of the certainty of this conjecture. SYMPSON.

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Then, in a flowery valley, ſet him down
On a green bank, and ſet before him ſpread
A table of celeſtial food, divine

I queſtion whether others will have ſo good an opinion of this emendation. "Through the *blithe* air" I conceive to be much the ſame as if he had ſaid "through the *glad* air," and the propriety of ſuch a metaphor wants no juſtification or explanation. Sympſon's remark is doubtleſs a moſt foolish one. NEWTON.

"*Blithe* air" is ſimilar to "*buxom* air," *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 842, B. v. 270. But I conceive it to have a farther meaning, *cheerful*, or *pleaſed with its burthen*; and it ſtrikes me as an intended contraſt to a paſſage in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, deſcribing the flight of Satan, at the time he firſt riſes from the burning lake, when *the duſky air is loaded with his weight*, B. i. 226. DUNSTER.

I humbly apprehend that "*blithe* air" is not ſimilar to "*buxom* air;" for *buxom* ſignifies *yielding*, or *flexible*, and is, in this ſenſe, the accuſtomed epithet to *air* among our elder poets: Mr. Sympſon's "*lithe* air" approaches nearer to "*buxom* air," becauſe *lithe* alſo means *flexible*. But the poet wrote "*blithe* air" in reference perhaps to the "fair morning after a diſmal night; the clouds being now chas'd, and the winds laid;" and the air conſequently *blithe*, light and pure; the epithet *blithe* finely expreſſing what he ſays of the *pure air* of Paradiſe, *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 154.

——————"to the heart inſpires
"Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
"All ſadneſs but deſpair."

Cowley uſes the ſimilar combination of "glad air" in his *Davideis*, B. i.

"Then flocks of birds through the *glad* air did flee."

The Italian *lieto*, in like manner, ſometimes ſignifies *freſh*. See Vocab. Della Cruſca. TODD.

Ver. 587. —————— *and ſet before him ſpread*
A table of celeſtial food, &c.] Here is much reſemblance to a ſtanza of G. Fletcher, *Chriſt's Triumph* &c. ſt. 61.

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Ambroſial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And, from the fount of life, ambroſial drink,
That ſoon refreſh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
Or thirſt; and, as he fed, angelick quires
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
Over Temptation and the Tempter proud.
True image of the Father; whether thron'd

" But to their Lord, now muſing in his thought,
" *A heavenly volley of light Angels flew,*
" And from his Father him *a banquet brought*
" *Through the fine element*; for well they knew
" After his lenten faſt *he hungry grew;*
" And, *as he fed*, the *holy quires combine*
" *To ſing a hymn of the celeſtial trine.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 593. ——————— *angelick quires*
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory &c.] As Milton in his *Paradiſe Loſt* had repreſented the Angels ſinging triumph upon the Meſſiah's victory over the rebel Angels; ſo here again with the ſame propriety they are deſcribed celebrating his ſucceſs againſt temptation, and to be ſure he could not have poſſibly concluded his work with greater dignity and ſolemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetick decorum. THYER.

Ver. 596. *True image of the Father;* &c.]

" Cedite Romani ſcriptores, cedite Graii."

All the poems that ever were written muſt yield, even *Paradiſe Loſt* muſt yield, to the *Regained* in the grandeur of its cloſe. Chriſt ſtands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terrour, on this full proof of his being that very Son of God, whoſe thunder forced him out of Heaven. The bleſſed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a ſublime truth eſtabliſhed, which was a ſecret to them at the beginning of the Temptation; and the great diſcovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Chriſt, and the defeat of the Tempter. CALTON.

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In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, enshrin'd
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,
Wandering the wilderness; whatever place,

Ver. 596. ——————— *whether* thron'd
In the bosom *of bliss*,] Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 238, the Son of God says to the Father;

———" I, for his sake, will leave
" *Thy bosom*, and this glory next to thee;"

and the Father, in reply, ver. 305.

" Because thou hast, though *thron'd in highest bliss*
" Equal to God, &c."

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in Heaven, B. x. 325. DUNSTER.

The Scripture suggested these expressions to the poet: " The only-begotten Son, which is *in the bosom of the Father*," John, i. 18. TODD.

Ver. 598. ——————— *enshrin'd*
In fleshly tabernacle, *and human form*,] St. John, i. 14. says, Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ΕΣΚΗΝΩΣΕΝ ἐν ἡμῖν,— which, literally translated, is, " the word was made *flesh*, and *tabernacled* among us. St. Paul, II Cor. v. 1. terms the body or the " human form" our earthly house of *this tabernacle*,— ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία ΤΟΥ ΣΚΗΝΟΥΣ. Thus also our author, in his Ode *On the Passion*;

" He, sovran Priest, stooping his regal head,
" That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
" Poor *fleshly tabernacle* entered."

And in his Poem, *In Obit. Præs. El.* v. 37.

" Animasque *mole carnea* reconditas." DUNSTER.

Ver. 600. ——————— *whatever place*,
Habit, or state, or motion,] I cannot think, with Dr. Newton, that this is an allusion to Horace, *Ep.* I. xvii. 23.

" Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res."

JOS. WARTON.

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Habit, or ſtate, or motion, ſtill expreſſing
The Son of God, with God-like force endued
Againſt the attempter of thy Father's throne,
And thief of Paradiſe! Him long of old
Thou didſt debel, and down from Heaven caſt
With all his army; now thou haſt aveng'd
Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquiſhing
Temptation, haſt regain'd loſt Paradiſe,
And fruſtrated the conqueſt fraudulent.
He never more henceforth will dare ſet foot
In Paradiſe to tempt; his ſnares are broke:
For, though that ſeat of earthly bliſs be fail'd,
A fairer Paradiſe is founded now
For Adam and his choſen ſons, whom thou,
A Saviour, art come down to re-inſtall,
Where they ſhall dwell ſecure, when time ſhall be,
Of Tempter and Temptation without fear.
But thou, infernal Serpent! ſhalt not long

Ver. 604. *And* thief *of Paradiſe!*] Thus, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iv. 192, where Satan firſt enters *Paradiſe:* "So clomb this *firſt grand thief* into God's fold." DUNSTER.

The phraſe probably owes its origin to St. *John* x. 1. "He that entereth not in by the door to the ſheepfold, but *climbeth* up ſome other way, the ſame is a *thief* and a *robber*." I ſhould add, that a *thief* is one of the titles which venerable Bede has expreſsly given to the Devil. See a liſt of theſe titles in Wierus *de Præſtigiis Dæmon.* 1582, p. 109. TODD.

Ver. 605. *Thou didſt* debel,] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 853. "*Debellare* ſuperbos." NEWTON.

Ver. 611. ——————— *his ſnares are broke:*] "Our ſoul is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler; *the ſnare is broken*, &c." Pſalm, cxxiv. 7. DUNSTER.

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Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star,
Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down
Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound,)
By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell
No triumph: in all her gates Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe

Ver. 619. ——— *like an autumnal star,*
Or lightning,] The poet here, as in other places, imitates profane authors and Scripture both together: Ἀστὴρ ἐπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιος, *Il.* v. 5. "I beheld Satan *as lightning* fall from Heaven," *Luke* x. 18. NEWTON.

There is a peculiar propriety in comparing Satan to an *autumnal star*, on account of the mischiefs that autumnal stars, and Sirius in particular, were supposed to produce to mankind. See *Iliad*, x. 26, &c. and *Æneid*, x. 272. Milton had before compared him to a comet, that "from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war," *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 710. DUNSTER.

Sirius is out of the question. Autumnal star is used for Falling Star, as these occur chiefly in Autumn.

Ver. 620. ——— trod *down*
Under his feet:] "And the God of peace shall *bruise Satan under your feet.*" Romans, xvi. 20; where the marginal reading for *bruise* is *tread*. From whence in the *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 190. "Whom he shall *tread* at last *under our feet*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 624. ——— *in all* her gates] *Mat.* xvi. 18. "The *gates of Hell* shall not prevail against it." DUNSTER.

It must be added, that the turn of the whole expression; "Abaddon *rues in all her gates*," is also scriptural; for thus it is said of degenerate Zion, "And her *gates shall lament and mourn*," Isaiah iii. 26. TODD.

Ibid. ——— *Abaddon*] The name of the angel of the bottomless pit, *Rev.* ix. 11; here applied to the bottomless pit itself. NEWTON.

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To dread the Son of God: He, all unarm'd,
Shall chaſe thee, with the terrour of his voice,
From thy demoniack holds, poſſeſſion foul,
Thee and thy legions; yelling they ſhall fly,

Ver. 626. ——— *all unarm'd,*] In Vida's *Chriſtiad.* i. 192, Satan deſcribes himſelf having been completely foiled and defeated by our Saviour thus *all unarm'd;*

——— " ſemper me reppulit ipſe,
" *Non armis ullis fretus,* non viribus uſus:"

But *all unarm'd* ſeems here to be an intended contraſt to that very fine deſcription in *Paradiſe Loſt*, of the Meſſiah completely armed, aſcending " the chariot of paternal Deity," to accompliſh the victory over the rebel Angels, and to drive them out of Heaven, B. vi. 760—766. DUNSTER.

Ver. 628. *From thy demoniack* holds, poſſeſſion *foul,*] The δαιμονιζόμενοι, or *demoniacks* of the Goſpel, are conſtantly rendered in our verſion " *poſſeſſed* with a devil." And Babylon is deſcribed " the *habitation of devils*, and the *hold of every foul ſpirit*," Rev. xviii. 2. DUNSTER.

That is, Babylon is become a *deſart*, as prefigured by the prophets Iſaiah and Jeremiah. Wilderneſſes are often deſcribed as the accuſtomed haunts of devils. See Elſner in *Luc.* viii. 29. Thus alſo Taſſo's foreſt, abounding with horrid demons, is termed " a charmed *hold*," Fairfax, B. xviii. ſt. 7. The demons of " deſart wilderneſſes" are alſo alluded to in *Comus*, v. 209. In the ſame poem the *legions* of evil ſpirits are noticed, v. 603.

——— " all the griſly *legions* that troop
" Under the ſooty flag of Acheron."

So in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, B. xiii. ſt. 11.

" *Legions* of devils by thouſands thither come." TODD.

Ver. 629. ——— *yelling they ſhall fly,*
And beg to hide them in a herd of ſwine,
Leſt he command them down into the deep,
Bound, &c.] See *Matt.* viii. 28, and four following verſes; and *Rev.* xx. 1, 2, 3. DUNSTER.

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And beg to hide them in a herd of ſwine,
Leſt he command them down into the deep,
Bound, and to torment ſent before their time.—
Hail, Son of the Moſt High, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work
Now enter; and begin to ſave mankind.
Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,
Sung victor, and, from heavenly feaſt refreſh'd,

Ver. 634. Queller *of Satan!*] Par. Loſt, B. xii. 311.

——————— " who ſhall *quell*
" *The adverſary-ſerpent*, and bring back,
" Through the world's wilderneſs, long-wander'd man,
" Safe to eternal Paradiſe of reſt." DUNSTER.

Alluding in both to the prophetical promiſe, " *The ſeed of the Woman ſhall bruiſe the head of the ſerpent.*" TODD.

Ver. 635. *Now enter*; &c.] May I venture to ſay, that I think this line, the laſt of the triumphant Song of the Angels, would have been a fine and forcible concluſion of the poem without the addition of the four following, which are comparatively feeble. JOS. WARTON.

It has been argued, from the four concluding lines, that the Poem is not complete; that is, that Milton had an idea of carrying it on further: Otherwiſe, the hymn of the angels would have been a fine cloſe. See Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, p. 80. DUNSTER.

Ver. 636. ——————— *our Saviour* meek,] " Learn of me, for I am *meek*, and lowly of heart." *Mat.* xi. 29. DUNSTER.

Ver. 637. ——— *from heavenly feaſt refreſh'd,*] Milton formed his deſcription of the *heavenly feaſt*, from the few words of *Matt.* iv. 11. " And behold, *Angels* came and *miniſtered unto him.*" Compare v. 587 &c. Let it be added, that a more pleaſing commentary on the expreſſion of the Evangeliſt could not have been penned. TODD.

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Brought on his way with joy; he, unobſerv'd,
Home to his mother's houſe private return'd.

Paradiſe Regained has not met with the approbation that it deſerves. It has not the harmony of numbers, the ſublimity of thought, and the beauties of diction, which are in *Paradiſe Loſt*. It is compoſed in a lower and leſs ſtriking ſtyle; a ſtyle ſuited to the ſubject. Artful ſophiſtry, falſe reaſoning, ſet off in the moſt ſpecious manner, and refuted by the Son of God with ſtrong unaffected eloquence, is the peculiar excellence of this poem. Satan there defends a bad cauſe with great ſkill and ſubtlety, as one thoroughly verſed in that craft;

" Qui facere aſſuerat
" Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra."

His character is well drawn. JORTIN.

If it be aſked, *Whether the* PARADISE REGAINED *be complete or not?* Thoſe, who take the Affirmative, ſay, that as the action of the *Paradiſe Loſt* was complete when the Fall of Man was complete; ſo the action of the *Paradiſe Regained* was complete, when our Saviour had defeated the Tempter in the wilderneſs. Thoſe, who take the Negative, ſay, that as the action of *Paradiſe Regained* was not complete till Chriſt was aſcended up on high, and had *led captivity captive;* ſo this poem, as it doth not likewiſe carry on the hiſtory ſo far, cannot therefore be complete.

Milton's propoſition at the beginning of the firſt book, and his hymn at the cloſe of the fourth, incline one to the firſt of theſe opinions; but it may be replied on the other ſide, that the propoſition is ſometimes written laſt, or at leaſt ſometimes altered at laſt, to make it anſwer, not what the author really intended, but what he afterwards found time to perform: and that the ſame may be ſaid of the hymn. And again, that the want of arguments to all the four books, and the four laſt lines of the fourth, make alſo for the Negative. The reſolution of this queſtion appearing a matter of ſome difficulty, I aſked the opinion of a learned friend (William Cooper Eſq. Clerk of the Parliaments) whoſe anſwer is written with great judgement. Take it therefore in his own words.

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" For my opinion about the PARADISE REGAINED, *whether complete or not?* There is nobody leſs poſſeſſed of the means to decide ſuch a critical queſtion than myſelf; or indeed any other philological one; but, if you will have it, I think it is ſo. And that, not merely becauſe Milton himſelf ſeems to have thought ſo, by ending it there; but becauſe I obſerve the *Iliad* to be finiſhed by the death &c. of Hector, and the *Æncid* by that of Turnus: that is, when the action had proceeded ſo far as to bring to paſs the cardinal event upon which all that was to follow muſt happen; after Hector's death, Troy muſt fall; and, when Turnus was ſlain, Æneas muſt eſtabliſh himſelf, by marrying Lavinia, &c. So, after the Tempter was defeated, Man was put into a ſtate of *regaining Paradiſe*,† as Chriſt thereby ſtood enabled to perform all the points of his miſſion and purpoſes, which were to be the ground of it. It is theſe breaks, and leaving things to be imagined, &c. that, with the uſe of ſome other figures, make a poem differ from a dry hiſtory. In the firſt, 'tis enough to ſhow the reader the promiſed land diſtinctly; the laſt ought to carry him thither, and put him in poſſeſſion."

The *Paradiſe Regained* is certainly a moſt admirable Poem, and breathes the very genius, and ſpirit, and ſoul of Milton in every line; and, in a word, is worthy, not only of him, but even of

" Blind Meleſigenes, thence Homer call'd,
" Whoſe poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own."

PECK.

Whether Milton ſuppoſed the Redemption of Mankind, as he here repreſents it, was procured by Chriſt's Triumph over the Devil in the wilderneſs; or whether he thought that the ſcene of the deſart oppoſed to that of Paradiſe, and the action of a temptation withſtood, to a temptation fallen under, made *Paradiſe Regained* a more regular ſequel to *Paradiſe Loſt*: Or, if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labour of compoſing *Paradiſe Loſt*, which made him averſe to another work of length, (and then he would never be at a loſs for fanciful reaſons to determine him in the choice of his plan,) is very uncertain. All that we can be ſure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a ſequel; for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the Devil back again to Hell from his new conqueſts in the air. In the mean

† by following the example of Chriſt in overcoming temptation.

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time nothing was eaſier than to have invented a good one; which ſhould end with the Reſurrection, and compriſe *theſe four books*, ſomewhat contracted, in an epiſode; for which only the ſubject of them is fit. WARBURTON. [These remarks are full of absurdity.

Confined as the ſubject of *Paradiſe Regained* was, I make no queſtion that Milton thought it an epick poem as well as the *Paradiſe Loſt*. For, in his invocation, he undertakes

——— " to tell of deeds
" Above heroick :"

And he had no notion that an epick poem muſt of neceſſity be formed after the example of Homer, and according to the precepts of Ariſtotle. In the introduction to the ſecond book of his *Reaſon of Church-Government* he thus delivers his ſentiments. " Time ſerves not now, and perhaps I might ſeem too profuſe, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the ſpacious circuits of her muſing, hath liberty to propoſe to herſelf, though of higheſt hope, and hardeſt attempting; whether that epick form whereof the two poems of Homer, and thoſe other two of Virgil and Taſſo are a *diffuſe*, and the book of Job a *brief model*: or whether the rules of Ariſtotle herein are ſtrictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and uſe judgement, is no tranſgreſſion, but an enriching of art." We ſee that he looked upon the book of Job, as *a brief model of an epick poem*: and the ſubject of *Paradiſe Regained* is much the ſame as that of the book of Job, a good man triumphing over temptation; and the greateſt part of it is in dialogue as well as the book of Job, and abounds with moral arguments and reflections, which were more natural to that ſeaſon of life, and better ſuited Milton's age and infirmities, than gay florid deſcriptions. For, by Mr. Elwood's account, he had not thought of the *Paradiſe Regained*, till after he had finiſhed the *Paradiſe Loſt*: The firſt hint of it was ſuggeſted by Elwood, while Milton reſided at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamſhire during the plague in London; and afterwards, when Elwood viſited him in London, he ſhowed him the poem finiſhed, ſo that he was not long in conceiving, or long in writing, it: And this is the reaſon why in the *Paradiſe Regained* there are much fewer imitations of, and alluſions to, other authors, than in the *Paradiſe Loſt*. The *Paradiſe Loſt* he was long in meditating, and had laid in a

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large ſtock of materials, which he had collected from all authors ancient and modern: but in the *Paradiſe Regained* he compoſed more from memory, and with no other help from books, than ſuch as naturally occurred to a mind ſo thoroughly tinctured and ſeaſoned, as his was, with all kinds of learning. Mr. Thyer makes the ſame obſervation, particularly with regard to the Italian poets. From the very few alluſions, ſays he, to the Italian poets, in this poem one may draw, I think, a pretty concluſive argument for the reality of thoſe pointed out in the notes upon *Paradiſe Loſt*, and ſhow that they are not, as ſome may imagine, mere accidental coincidences of great geniuſes writing upon ſimilar ſubjects. Admitting them to be ſuch only, no tolerable reaſon can be aſſigned why the ſame ſhould not occur in the ſame manner in the *Paradiſe Regained*: whereas, upon the other ſuppoſition of their being real, the difference of the two poems in this reſpect is eaſily accounted for. It is very certain, that Milton formed his firſt deſign of writing an epick poem very ſoon after his return from Italy, if not before, and highly probable that he then intended it after the Italian model, as he ſays, ſpeaking of this deſign in his *Reaſon of Church Government*, that "he applied himſelf to that reſolution which Arioſto followed againſt the perſuaſions of Bembo, to fix all the art and induſtry he could unite to the adorning of his native tongue"—and again that he was then meditating "what king or knight before the Conqueſt might be choſen in whom to lay the pattern of a Chriſtian hero, as Taſſo gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition againſt the Infidels, or Beliſarius againſt the Goths, or Charlemain againſt the Lombards." This would naturally lead him to a frequent peruſal of the choiceſt wits of that country; and although he dropt his firſt ſcheme, and was ſome conſiderable time before he executed the preſent work, yet ſtill the impreſſions he had firſt received would be freſh in his imagination, and he would of courſe be drawn to imitate their particular beauties, though he avoided following them in his general plan. The caſe was far otherwiſe when the *Paradiſe Regained* was compoſed. As Mr. Elwood informs us, Milton did not ſo much as think of it till he was advanced in years; and it is not very likely, conſidering the troubles and infirmities he had long laboured under, that his ſtudies had been much employed about that time among

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the ſprightly Italians, or indeed any writers of that turn. Conſiſtent with this ſuppoſition we find it of a quite different ſtamp; and, inſtead of alluſions to poets either ancient or modern, it is full of moral and philoſophical reaſonings, to which ſort of thoughts an afflicted old age muſt have turned our author's mind.

NEWTON.

If the *Paradiſe Regained* is inferiour, as indeed I think it muſt be allowed to be, to the *Paradiſe Loſt*, it cannot juſtly be imputed, as ſome would have it, to any decay of Milton's genius, but to his being cramped down by a more barren and contracted ſubject. THYER.

Of *Paradiſe Regained* the general judgement ſeems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and every where inſtructive. It was not to be ſuppoſed that the writer of *Paradiſe Loſt* could ever write without great effuſions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wiſdom. The baſis of the poem is narrow; a dialogue without action can never pleaſe like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this Poem been written not by Milton, but by ſome imitator, it would have claimed and received univerſal praiſe. JOHNSON.

Dr. Newton, in his Life of Milton, ſpeaking of *this Poem*, ſays, "Certainly it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be ſeen in *Paradiſe Regained* as well as in *Paradiſe Loſt*; if it is inferiour in poetry, I know not whether it is not ſuperiour in ſentiment; if it is leſs deſcriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not ſometimes riſe ſo high, neither doth it ever ſink ſo low; and it has not met with the approbation it deſerves, only becauſe it has not been more read and conſidered. His ſubject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raiſed as noble a ſuperſtructure, as ſuch little room and ſuch ſcanty materials would allow." Mr. Thyer likewiſe remarks the barrenneſs of the ſubject. Dr. Warburton alſo pronounces the plan to be "a very unhappy and defective one." But none of theſe learned critieks [except Dr. Newton] ſeem to have conſidered what we may collect from our author himſelf; that he deſigned this poem for, what he terms, *the brief epick*, which he particularly diſtinguiſhes from the *great and diffuſe epick*, of which kind are the great poems of Homer and Virgil, and his own Paradiſe Loſt. From the Introduction to the ſecond Book of his *Reaſon of*

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Church Government, [cited in the preceding remark by Dr. Newton,] we may ſuppoſe his model to have been in a great meaſure the book of Job; and however the ſubject which he ſelected may have been conſidered as narrow ground, and one that cramped his genius, there is no reaſon to imagine that it was choſen haſtily or inconſiderately. It was particularly adapted to the ſpecies of poem he meant to produce, namely, the *brief*, or *didactick*, Epick. The baſis he thought perfectly adequate to the ſuperſtructure which he meant to raiſe; to the merit of which the lapſe of time bears the material teſtimony of a gradually encreaſing admiration.

Since the above was written, I am happy to add the opinion of a gentleman, whoſe judgement muſt have the greateſt weight, if to have excelled eminently in poetry is, (as it ſhould be ſuppoſed to be,) a title to judge of it in others. "Milton," ſays Mr. Hayley, "had already executed one extenſive divine poem, peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by richneſs and ſublimity of deſcription: In framing a ſecond he naturally wiſhed to vary its effect; to make it rich in moral ſentiment, and ſublime in its mode of unfolding the higheſt wiſdom that man can learn; for this purpoſe it was neceſſary to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due ſubordination to the precept. This delicate and difficult point is accompliſhed with ſuch felicity; they are blended together with ſuch exquiſite harmony and mutual aid; that, inſtead of arraigning the plan, we might rather doubt if any poſſible change could improve it. Aſſuredly there is no poem of an epick form, where the ſublimeſt moral is ſo forcibly and ſo abundantly united to poetical delight: the ſplendour of the poet does not blaze indeed ſo intenſely as in his larger production; here he reſembles the Apollo of Ovid, ſoftening his glory in ſpeaking to his ſon, and avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may deſcend into the heart." Hayley's *Life of Milton*. The ſame biographer, in another place, having ſpoken of the "uncommon energy of thought and felicity of compoſition apparent in Milton's two poems, however different in deſign, dimenſion, and effect," adds, "To cenſure the *Paradiſe Regained*, becauſe it does not more reſemble the *Paradiſe Loſt*, is hardly leſs abſurd, than it would be to condemn the Moon for not being a Sun, inſtead of admiring the two different luminaries, and feeling that both the

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greater and the leſs are equally the work of the ſame divine and inimitable power." DUNSTER.

Doubtleſs the *Paradiſe Regained*, like the mild and pleaſing brightneſs of the leſſer luminary, will ever obtain its comparative admiration. The fine ſentiments, which it breathes; the pure morality, which it inculcates; and the ſtriking imagery, with which it is frequently embelliſhed; muſt commend the Poem, while taſte and virtue are reſpected, to the grateful approbation of the world. The verſification indeed wants the variety and animation, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh the numbers of *Paradiſe Loſt*. And it cannot but be acknowledged that the plan is faulty: For, to attribute the Redemption of Mankind ſolely to Chriſt's triumph over the temptations in the wilderneſs, is a notion not only contracted,‡ but untrue. The gate of everlaſting Life was opened, through the Death and Reſurrection of our † Lord.† Dr. Bentley's remark has not yet been controverted: See the note on *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. x. 182. I do not, however, think, that *Paradiſe Regained* is without "alluſions to poets either ancient or modern," as is inſinuated in a preceding remark: It exhibits, on the contrary, ſeveral elegant imitations, interwoven with Milton's original graces, both of the claſſical and the romantick Muſes. TODD.

THE END OF PARADISE REGAINED.

‡ It is Mr. Todd's "notion" that is "contracted". — Milton's view seems to have been, that the Redemption of Mankind was accomplished by the perfecting of Human Nature in the person of Jesus Christ, whose Resurrection & Exaltation are the rewards of his Obedience & his Victory over Temptation. These victories, therefore, over human infirmity, & the attainment of that perfection in virtue by which Jesus may be said to have realized the idea of the Divine Being in the creation of Man, are justly the subjects of essential & supreme importance in Paradise Regained.

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SAMSON AGONISTES,

A

DRAMATICK POEM.

ARISTOT. *Poet.* Cap. 6.

Τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, κ. τ. λ.

Tragœdia eſt imitatio actionis ſeriæ, &c. per miſericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum luſtrationem.

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[1] *Of that ſort of Dramatick Poem which is called Tragedy.*

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently compoſed, hath been ever held the graveſt, moraleſt, and moſt profitable of all other poems: therefore ſaid by Ariſtotle to be of power by raiſing pity and fear, or terrour, to purge the mind of thoſe and ſuch like paſſions, that is, to temper and reduce them to juſt meaſure with a kind of delight, ſtirred up by reading or ſeeing thoſe paſſions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his aſſertion: [2] for ſo, in

[1] *Of that ſort of dramatick poem, called Tragedy.*] Milton, who was inclined to Puritaniſm, had good reaſon to think, that the publication of his *Samſon Agoniſtes* would be very offenſive to his brethren, who held poetry, and particularly that of the dramatick kind, in the greateſt abhorrence. And, upon this account, it is probable, that, in order to excuſe himſelf from having engaged in this proſcribed and forbidden ſpecies of writing, he thought it expedient to prefix to his Play a formal *Defence of Tragedy*. T. WARTON.

[2] *for ſo, in phyſick*, &c.] Theſe expreſſions of Milton may be ſuppoſed to refer to the doctrine of Signatures then in vogue; which had been introduced by Paracelſus between the years 1530 and 1540, and which inferred the propriety of the uſe of any vegetable, or mineral, in medicine from the ſimilarity of colour, ſhape, or appearance, which theſe remedies might bear to the part affected. Thus yellow things, as ſaffron, turmeric, &c. were given in liver complaints from their analogy of colour to the bile; and other remedies were given in nephritic diſorders becauſe the ſeed or leaf of the plant reſembled the kidney. See

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phyſick, things of melancholick hue and quality are uſed againſt melancholy, ſour againſt ſour, ſalt to remove ſalt humours. Hence philoſophers and other graveſt writers, as Cicero, Plutarch, and others, frequently cite out of tragick poets, both to adorn and illuſtrate their diſcourſe. The Apoſtle Paul himſelf thought it not unworthy to inſert [3] a verſe of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, I *Cor.* xv. 33; and Paræus, commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole

Paracels. *Labyrinth. Med.* c. 8. And Dr. Pemberton's very elegant preface to the Engliſh edition of the London Diſpenſary. DUNSTER.

[3] *a verſe of Euripides*] The verſe, here quoted, is *Evil communications corrupt good manners:* but I am inclined to think that Milton is miſtaken in calling it a verſe of *Euripides;* for Jerome and Grotius (who publiſhed the fragments of Menander) and the beſt commentators, ancient and modern, ſay that it is taken from the Thais of *Menander*, and it is extant among the fragments of Menander, p. 79. Le Clerc's edit. Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί. Such ſlips of memory may be found ſometimes in the beſt writers. NEWTON.

Mr. Glaſſe, the learned tranſlator of this tragedy into Greek Iambicks, agrees with Dr. Newton. Dr. Macknight, in his excellent Tranſlation of the Epiſtles, is of opinion, that the ſentiment is of elder date than the time of Menander; that it was one of the proverbial verſes commonly received among the Greeks, the author of which cannot now be known. Clemens Alexandrinus calls it Ἰαμβεῖον τραγικὸν, *Strom.* lib. i. And Socrates the hiſtorian expreſsly aſſigns it to Euripides, *Ecc. Hiſt.* lib. iii. cap. 16. ed. Valeſ. p. 189. It is extant indeed in the fragments of Euripides, as well as in thoſe of the comick writer. Milton therefore is not to be charged with forgetfulneſs, or miſtake. TODD.

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book as a tragedy, into acts diſtinguiſhed each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and ſong between. Heretofore men in higheſt dignity have laboured not a little to be thought able to compoſe a tragedy. Of that honour Dionyſius the elder was no leſs ambitious, than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Auguſtus Cæſar alſo had begun his Ajax, but, unable to pleaſe his own judgement with what he had begun, left it unfiniſhed. Seneca, the philoſopher is by ſome thought the author of thoſe tragedies (at leaſt the beſt of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbeſeeming the ſanctity of his perſon to write [4] a tragedy, which is entitled *Chriſt ſuffering*. This is mentioned to vindicate tragedy from the ſmall eſteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; happening through the poet's errour [5] of intermixing co-

[4] *a tragedy*, &c.] A very ſevere, but very juſt, criticiſm on this tragedy of Gregory, which has been too much applauded, has been given by the learned Valckenaer, Præfat. in Euripidis Hippolytum, p. 13. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1768. Jos. WARTON.

It ſeems very extraordinary that Milton did not here likewiſe mention the tragedies of Grotius; his *Adamus Exul*, *Chriſtus Patiens*, and *Sophomphanæus*; in his dedication of the laſt of which to Gerard Voſſius, Grotius juſtifies the writing of tragedy with examples and arguments ſimilar to thoſe of Milton in this tragedy. DUNSTER.

[5] *of intermixing comick ſtuff* &c.] This might refer to Shak-

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mick ſtuff with tragick ſadneſs and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar perſons, which by all judicious hath been counted abſurd; and brought in without diſcretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And [6] though Ancient Tragedy uſe no prologue, yet uſing ſometimes, in caſe of ſelf-defence, or explanation, that which Martial calls an epiſtle; in behalf of this tragedy coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us paſſes for beſt, thus much before-hand may be epiſtled;

ſpeare, or Beaumont and Fletcher, or other dramatick writers of that time. Dryden alſo, who, when *Samſon* appeared, was the active play-wright of the age, frequently at that period wrote Tragi-Comedies. His earlieſt piece of the kind was *Secret Love or the Maiden Queen*. In the preface to his *Spaniſh Friar* he defends this ſtyle of writing, at leaſt he ſays the taſte of the age required it. "The truth is," ſays he, "the audience are grown weary of continued melancholy ſcenes. And I dare venture to propheſy, that few tragedies, except thoſe in verſe, ſhall ſucceed in this age, if they are not enlightened with a courſe of mirth." The Spaniſh Friar was a particularly favourite play with Charles the ſecond; to pleaſe whom Dryden perhaps firſt began to *enlighten* his tragedies *with a courſe of mirth*; as the levity of the king's diſpoſition would hardly have reconciled itſelf to five acts of continued melancholy ſcenes. Milton, we may well ſuppoſe, thought of theſe interludes, in which comick ſtuff was intermixed with tragick ſadneſs, much in the ſame way as he did of their admirers; whoſe vitiated taſte, and weak levity of diſpoſition, he most probably held in no ſmall degree of contempt.

DUNSTER.

[6] *though Ancient Tragedy uſe no prologue,*] That is, no prologue apologiſing for the poet, as we find the Ancient Comedy did. See Terence's Prologues. HURD.

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that [7] Chorus is here introduced after the Greek manner, [8] not ancient only but modern, and ſtill in uſe among the Italians. In the modelling therefore of this poem, with good reaſon, the Ancients and Italians are rather followed, as of much more authority and fame. The meaſure of verſe uſed in the Chorus is of all ſorts, called by the Greeks Monoſtrophick, or

[7] *Chorus is here introduced*] The reader will find a maſterly account of the old Chorus in Mr. Cumberland's Obſervations on this tragedy. "But," to uſe the words of Dr. Warton, "what ſhall we ſay to the ſtrong objections lately made by ſome very able and learned criticks of the uſe of the Chorus at all? The criticks I have in view, are Metaſtaſio, Twining, Pye, Colman, and Johnſon; who have brought forward ſuch powerful arguments againſt this ſo important a part of the ancient drama, as to ſhake our conviction of its utility and propriety, founded on what Hurd, Maſon, and Brumoy, have ſo earneſtly and elegantly recommended on the ſubject." See Warton's Pope, vol. i. p. 158. TODD.

[8] *not ancient only but modern, and ſtill in uſe among the Italians.*] So, in *The Warres of Cyrus*, 1594, the Addreſs to the Audience obſerves, that all "antickes, imitations, ſhews, or new devices ſprung a late, are exhilde from their tragick ſtage, as traſh, &c.

——————"For what they *do*
"Inſtead of mournful plaints our CHORUS *ſings*;
"Although it be againſt the vpſtart guiſe,
"Yet, *warranted by graue antiquitie*,
"We will reuiue the which hath long beene done."

The obligations we owe to Italy in regard eſpecially to Tragedy, as well as the hiſtory and nature of the Italian-drama, are illuſtrated with great learning, preciſion, and elegance, in an *Hiſtorical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 4to. 1799, and in an *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the Revival of the Drama in Italy*, 8vo. 1805; both by Joſeph Cooper Walker, Eſq. to which I refer the reader for the fulleſt information on this ſubject. TODD.

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rather [9] Apolelymenon, without regard had to Strophe, Antiſtrophe, or Epode, which were a kind of ſtanzas framed only for the muſick, then uſed with the Chorus that ſung; not eſſential to the poem, and therefore not material; or, being divided into ſtanzas or pauſes, they may be called Allæoſtropha. Diviſion into act and ſcene referring chiefly to the ſtage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted.

It ſuffices if the whole drama be found not produced beyond the fifth act. Of the ſtyle and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but ſuch œconomy, or diſpoſition of the fable as may ſtand beſt with verſimilitude and decorum; they only will beſt judge who are not unacquainted with Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragick poets unequalled yet by any, and the beſt rule to all who endeavour to write tragedy. The circumſcription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is according to ancient rule, and beſt example, within the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

[9] *Apolelymenon,*] Free from the reſtraint of any *particular* meaſure, not from all meaſure whatſoever. HURD.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

SAMSON AGONISTES.

(a) IT is required by Ariſtotle to the perfection of a tragedy, and is equally neceſſary to every other ſpecies of regular compoſition, that it ſhould have a beginning, a middle, and an end. "The beginning," ſays he, "is that which has nothing neceſſarily previous, but to which that which follows is naturally conſequent; the end, on the contrary, is that which by neceſſity, or at leaſt according to the the common courſe of things, ſucceeds ſomething elſe, but which implies nothing conſequent to itſelf; the middle is connected on one ſide to ſomething that naturally goes before, and on the other to ſomething that naturally follows it."

Such is the rule, laid down by this great critick, for the diſpoſition of the different parts of a well conſtituted fable. It muſt begin, where it may be made intelligible without introduction; and end, where the mind is left in repoſe, without expectation of any further event. The intermediate paſſages muſt join the laſt effect to the firſt cauſe, by a regular and unbroken concatenation; nothing muſt be therefore inſerted which does not apparently

(a) From Dr. Johnſon's *Rambler*, vol. iii. No. 139, and No. 140.

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ariſe from ſomething foregoing, and properly make way for ſomething that ſucceeds it.

This precept is to be underſtood in its rigour, only with reſpect to great and eſſential events, and cannot be extended in the ſame force to minuter circumſtances and arbitrary decorations, which yet are more happy as they contribute more to the main deſign; for it is always a proof of extenſive thought and accurate circumſpection, to promote various purpoſes by the ſame act; and the idea of an ornament admits uſe, though it ſeems to exclude neceſſity.

Whoever purpoſes, as it is expreſſed by Milton, "*to build the lofty rhyme*," muſt acquaint himſelf with this law of poetical architecture, and take care that his edifice be ſolid as well as beautiful; that nothing ſtand ſingle or independent, ſo as that it may be taken away without injuring the reſt; but that from the foundation to the pinnacles one part reſt firm upon another.

This regular and conſequential diſtribution is among common authors frequently neglected; but the failures of thoſe, whoſe example can have no influence, may be ſafely overlooked, nor is it of much uſe to recall obſcure and unregarded names to memory, for the ſake of ſporting with their infamy. But if there is any writer whoſe genius can embelliſh impropriety, and whoſe authority can make errour venerable, his works are the proper objects of critical inquiſition. To expunge faults where there are no excellencies, is a taſk equally uſeleſs with that of the chemiſt, who employs the arts of ſeparation and refinement upon

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ore, in which no precious metal is contained to reward his operations.

The tragedy of *Samſon Agoniſtes* has been celebrated as the ſecond work of the great author of *Paradiſe Loſt*, and oppoſed with all the confidence of triumph to the dramatick performances of other nations. It contains indeed juſt ſentiments, maxims of wiſdom, and oracles of piety, and many paſſages written with the ancient ſpirit of choral poetry, in which there is a juſt and pleaſing mixture of Seneca's moral declamation with the wild enthuſiaſm of the Greek writers. It is therefore worthy of examination, whether a performance thus illuminated with genius, and enriched with learning, is compoſed according to the indiſpenſable laws of Ariſtotelian criticiſm; and, omitting at preſent all other conſiderations, whether it exhibits a beginning, a middle, and an end.

The (b) beginning is undoubtedly beautiful and proper, opening with a graceful abruptneſs, and proceeding naturally to a mournful recital of facts neceſſary to be known. The ſoliloquy of Samſon is interrupted by a Chorus, or company of men of his own tribe, who condole his miſeries, extenuate his fault, and conclude with a ſolemn vindication

(b) As this work, ſays doctor Newton, was not intended for the ſtage, it is not divided into acts; but if any critick ſhould be diſpoſed ſo to divide it, he may eaſily do it, by beginning the *ſecond* act at the entrance of Manoah; the *third* at the entrance of Dalila; the *fourth* at the entrance of Harapha; and the *fifth* at the entrance of the Publick Officer: But the Stage is never empty or without perſons, according to the model of the beſt written tragedies among the ancients.

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of Divine Juſtice. So that, at the concluſion of the firſt act, there is no deſign laid, no diſcovery made, nor any diſpoſition formed towards the ſubſequent event.

In the ſecond act, Manoah, the father of Samſon, comes to ſeek his ſon; and, being ſhown him by the Chorus, breaks out into lamentations of his miſery, and compariſons of his preſent with his former ſtate; repreſenting to him the ignominy which his religion ſuffers, by the feſtival this day celebrated in honour of Dagon, to whom the idolaters aſcribed his overthrow. Samſon, touched with the reproach, makes a reply equally penitential and pious, which his father conſiders as the effuſion of prophetick confidence.

Samſon. " God, be ſure,
" Will not connive or linger, thus provok'd,
" But will ariſe and his great name aſſert:
" Dagon muſt ſtoop, and ſhall e'er long receive
" Such a diſcomfit, as ſhall quite deſpoil him
" Of all theſe boaſted trophies won on me.
Manoah. " With cauſe this hope relieves thee, and theſe words
" I as a prophecy receive; for God,
" Nothing more certain, will not long defer
" To vindicate the glory of his Name."

This part of the dialogue, as it might tend to animate or exaſperate Samſon, cannot, I think, be cenſured as wholly ſuperfluous; but the ſucceeding diſpute, in which Samſon contends to die, and which his father breaks off, that he may go to ſolicit his releaſe, is only valuable for its own beauties, and has no tendency to introduce any thing that follows it.

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The next event of the drama is the arrival of Dalila, with all her graces, artifices, and allurements. This produces a dialogue, in a very high degree elegant and inſtructive, from which ſhe retires, after ſhe has exhauſted her perſuaſions, and is no more ſeen or heard of; nor has her viſit any effect but that of raiſing the character of Samſon.

In the fourth act enters Harapha, the giant of Gath, whoſe name had never been mentioned before, and who has now no other motive of coming than to ſee the man whoſe ſtrength and actions are ſo loudly celebrated. Samſon challenges him to the combat; and, after an interchange of reproaches, elevated by repeated defiance on one ſide, and embittered by contemptuous inſults on the other, Harapha retires; we then hear it determined, by Samſon and the Chorus, that no conſequence good or bad will proceed from their interview.

At laſt, in the fifth act, appears a Meſſenger from the lords aſſembled at the feſtival of Dagon, with a ſummons, by which Samſon is required to come and entertain them with ſome proof of his ſtrength. Samſon, after a ſhort expoſtulation, diſmiſſes him with a firm and abſolute refuſal; but during the abſence of the Meſſenger, having a while defended the propriety of his conduct, he at laſt declares himſelf moved by a ſecret impulſe to comply, and utters ſome dark preſages of a great event to be brought to paſs by his agency, under the direction of Providence. While Samſon is conducted off by the Meſſenger, his father returns with hopes of ſucceſs in his ſolicitation, upon which he confers with the Chorus till their dialogue is interrupted,

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firſt by a ſhout of triumph, and afterwards by ſcreams of horrour and agony. As they ſtand deliberating where they ſhall be ſecure, a man, who had been preſent at the ſhow, enters; and relates how Samſon, having prevailed on his guide to ſuffer him to lean againſt the main pillars of the theatrical edifice, tore down the roof upon the ſpectators and himſelf. This is undoubtedly a juſt and regular cataſtrophe; and the poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Ariſtotle himſelf could not have diſapproved; but it muſt be allowed to want a middle, ſince nothing paſſes between the firſt act and the laſt, that either haſtens or delays the death of Samſon. The whole drama, if its ſuperfluities were cut off, would ſcarcely fill a ſingle act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded.

It is common, ſays Bacon, to deſire the end without enduring the means. Every member of ſociety feels, and acknowledges, the neceſſity of detecting crimes; yet ſcarce any degree of virtue or reputation is able to ſecure an informer from publick hatred. The learned world has always admitted the uſefulneſs of critical diſquiſitions; yet he that attempts to ſhow, however modeſtly, the failures of a celebrated writer, ſhall ſurely irritate his admirers, and incur the imputation of envy, captiouſneſs, and malignity.

With this danger full in my view, I ſhall proceed to examine the ſentiments of Milton's tragedy, which, though much leſs liable to cenſure than the diſpoſition of his plan, are, like thoſe of other writers, ſometimes expoſed to juſt exception for want of care, or want of diſcernment.

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Sentiments are proper and improper as they conſiſt more or leſs with the character and circumſtances of the perſon to whom they are attributed, with the rules of the compoſition in which they are found, or with the ſettled and unalterable nature of things.

It is common among the tragick poets to introduce their perſons alluding to events or opinions, of which they could not poſſibly have any knowledge. The barbarians of remote or newly diſcovered regions often diſplay their ſkill in European learning. The god of love is mentioned in Tamerlane with all the familiarity of a Roman epigrammiſt; and a late writer has put Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood into the mouth of a Turkiſh ſtateſman, who lived near two centuries before it was known even to philoſophers or anatomiſts.

Milton's learning, which acquainted him with the manners of the ancient eaſtern nations; and his invention, which required no aſſiſtance from the common cant of poetry; have preſerved him from frequent outrages of local or chronological propriety. Yet he has mentioned *Chalybean ſteel* (ver. 133.), of which it is not very likely that his Chorus ſhould have heard; and has made *Alp* the general name of a mountain (ver. 628.), in a region where the *Alps* could ſcarcely be known. He has taught Samſon the tales of Circe and the Syrens, at which he apparently hints in his colloquy with Dalila:

> " Thy fair *enchanted cup*, and *warbling charms*,
> " No more on me have power."

But the groſſeſt errour of this kind is the ſolemn introduction of the phœnix in the laſt ſcene; which

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is faulty, not only as it is incongruous to the perſonage to whom it is aſcribed, but as it is ſo evidently contrary to reaſon and nature, that it ought never to be mentioned but as a fable in any ſerious poem.

Another ſpecies of impropriety is the unſuitableneſs of thoughts to the general character of the poem. The ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity of tragedy neceſſarily rejects all pointed or epigrammatical expreſſions, all remote conceits and oppoſition of ideas. Samſon's complaint is therefore too elaborate to be natural:

" As in the land of darkneſs, yet in light,
" To live a life half dead, a living death,
" And buried; but O yet more miſerable!
" Myſelf my ſepulchre, a moving grave!
" Buried, yet not exempt,
" By privilege of death and burial,
" From worſt of other evils, pains and wrongs."

All alluſions to low and trivial objects, with which contempt is uſually aſſociated, are doubtleſs unſuitable to a ſpecies of compoſition, which ought to be always awful, though not always magnificent. The remark therefore of the Chorus on good and bad news, ſeems to want elevation:

Manoah. " A little ſtay will bring ſome notice hither.
Chorus. " Of good or bad ſo great, of bad the ſooner;
" For evil news *rides poſt*, while good news *bates*."

But of all meanneſs, that has leaſt to plead which is produced by mere verbal conceits; which, depending only upon ſounds, loſe their exiſtence by the change of a ſyllable. Of this kind is the following dialogue;

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Chor. " But had we beſt retire? I ſee a *ſtorm*.
Samſ. " Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.
Chor. " But this another kind of tempeſt brings.
Samſ. " Be leſs abſtruſe, my riddling days are paſt.
Chor. " Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear
" The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue
" Draws hitherward; I know him by his ſtride,
" The giant Harapha."

And yet more deſpicable are the lines in which Manoah's paternal kindneſs is commended by the Chorus:

" Fathers are wont to *lay up* for their ſons,
" Thou for thy ſon art bent to *lay out* all."

Samſon's complaint of the inconveniencies of impriſonment is not wholly without verbal quaintness:

——" I, a *priſoner* chain'd, ſcarce freely draw
" The air *impriſon'd* alſo, cloſe and damp."

From the ſentiments we may properly deſcend to the conſideration of the language, which, in imitation of the ancients, is through the whole dialogue remarkably ſimple and unadorned, ſeldom heightened by epithets, or varied by figures; yet ſometimes metaphors find admiſſion, even where their conſiſtency is not acurately preſerved. Thus Samſon confounds loquacity with a ſhipwreck:

" How could I once look up, or heave the head,
" Who, like a fooliſh *pilot*, have *ſhipwreck'd*
" My *veſſel* truſted to me from above,
" Gloriouſly *rigg'd*; and for a word, a tear,
" Fool! have *divulg'd* the *ſecret gift* of God
" To a deceitful woman?"

And the Chorus talks of adding fuel to flame in a report:

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" He's gone, and who knows how he may *report*
" Thy *words*, by *adding fuel to the flame.*"

The verſification is in the dialogue much more ſmooth and harmonious, than in the parts allotted to the Chorus, which are often ſo harſh and diſſonant, as ſcarce to preſerve, whether the lines end with or without rhymes, any appearance of metrical regularity.

Since I have thus pointed out the faults of Milton, critical integrity requires that I ſhould endeavour to diſplay his excellencies, though they will not eaſily be diſcovered in ſhort quotations, becauſe they conſiſt in the juſtneſs of diffuſe reaſonings, or in the contexture and method of continued dialogues; this play having none of thoſe deſcriptions, ſimilies, or ſplendid ſentences, with which other tragedies are ſo laviſhly adorned.

Yet ſome paſſages may be ſelected which ſeem to deſerve particular notice, either as containing ſentiments of paſſion, repreſentations of life, precepts of conduct, or ſallies of imagination. It is not eaſy to give a ſtronger repreſentation of the wearineſs of deſpondency, than in the words of Samſon to his father:

——— " I feel my genial ſpirits droop,
" My hopes all flat; Nature within me ſeems
" In all her functions weary of herſelf;
" My race of glory run, and race of ſhame,
" And I ſhall ſhortly be with them that reſt."

The reply of Samſon to the flattering Dalila affords a juſt and ſtriking repreſentation of the ſtratagems and allurements of feminine hypocriſy:

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——— " Theſe are thy wonted arts,
" And arts of every woman falſe like thee,
" To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray,
" Then as repentant to ſubmit, beſeech,
" And reconcilement move with feign'd remorſe,
" Confeſs, and promiſe wonders in her change;
" Not truly penitent, but chief to try
" Her huſband, how far urg'd his patience bears,
" His virtue or weakneſs which way to aſſail:
" Then with more cautious and inſtructed ſkill
" Again tranſgreſſes, and again ſubmits."

When Samſon has refuſed to make himſelf a ſpectacle at the feaſt of Dagon, he firſt juſtifies his behaviour to the Chorus, who charge him with having ſerved the Philiſtines, by a very juſt diſtinction; and then deſtroys the common excuſe of cowardice and ſervility, which always confound temptation with repulſion:

Chor. " Yet with thy ſtrength thou ſerv'ſt the Philiſtines.
Samſ. " Not in their idol-worſhip, but by labour
" Honeſt and lawful to deſerve my food
" Of thoſe who have me in their civil power.
Chor. " Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.
Samſ. " Where outward force conſtrains, the ſentence holds;
" But who conſtrains me to the temple of Dagon,
" Not dragging? The Philiſtine lords command.
" Commands are no conſtraints. If I obey them,
" I do it freely, venturing to diſpleaſe
" God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,
" Set God behind."

The complaint of blindneſs, which Samſon pours out at the beginning of the tragedy, is equally addreſſed to the paſſions and the fancy. The enumeration of his miſeries is ſucceeded by a very pleaſing

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train of poetical images, and concluded by ſuch expoſtulations and wiſhes, as reaſon too often ſubmits to learn from deſpair.

Such are the faults, and ſuch the beauties, of *Samſon Agoniſtes;* which I have ſhown with no other purpoſe than to promote the knowledge of true criticiſm. The everlaſting verdure of Milton's laurels has nothing to fear from the blaſts of malignity; nor can my attempt produce any other effect than to ſtrengthen their ſhoots by lopping their luxuriance. JOHNSON.

* When I remarked that Jonſon, in his comedy of *The Fox*, was a cloſe copier of the ancients, it occurred to me to ſay ſomething upon the celebrated drama of *Samſon Agoniſtes;* which, though leſs beholden to the Greek poets in its dialogue than the comedy above-mentioned, is in all other particulars as complete an imitation of the Ancient Tragedy, as the diſtance of times and the difference of languages will admit of.

It is profeſſedly *built according to ancient rule and example;* and the author, by taking Ariſtotle's definition of tragedy for his motto, fairly challenges the critick to examine and compare it by that teſt. His cloſe adherence to the model of the Greek tragedy is in nothing more conſpicuous than in the ſimplicity of his diction; in this particular he has curbed his fancy with ſo tight a hand, that, knowing as we do the fertile vein of his genius, we cannot but lament the fidelity of his imitation; for there is a harſhneſs in the metre of his Chorus, which to

* From Mr. Cumberland's *Obſerver*, vol. iv. No. 111.

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a certain degree ſeems to border upon pedantry and affectation; he premiſes that *the meaſure is indeed of all ſorts*, but I muſt take leave to obſerve that in ſome places it is no meaſure at all, or ſuch at leaſt as the ear will not patiently endure, nor which any recitation can make harmonious. By caſting out of his compoſition the ſtrophe and antiſtrophe, thoſe ſtanzas which the Greeks appropriated to ſinging, or in one word by making his Chorus monoſtrophick, he has robbed it of that lyrick beauty, which he was capable of beſtowing in the higheſt perfection; and why he ſhould ſtop ſhort in this particular, when he had otherwiſe gone ſo far in imitation, is not eaſy to gueſs; for ſurely it would have been quite as natural to ſuppoſe thoſe ſtanzas, had he written any, might be ſung, as that all the other parts, as the drama now ſtands with a Chorus of ſuch irregular meaſure, might be recited or given in repreſentation.

Now it is well known to every man converſant in the Greek theatre, how the Chorus, which in fact is the parent of the drama, came in proceſs of improvement to be woven into the fable, and from being at firſt the whole grew in time to be only a part: The fable being ſimple, and the characters few, the ſtriking part of the ſpectacle reſted upon the ſinging and dancing of the interlude, if I may ſo call it, and to theſe the people were too long accuſtomed and too warmly attached, to allow of any reform for their excluſion; the tragick poet therefore never got rid of his Chorus, though the writers of the Middle Comedy contrived to diſmiſs theirs, and probably their fable being of a more

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lively character, their ſcenes were better able to ſtand without the ſupport of muſick and ſpectacle, than the mournful fable and more languid recitation of the tragedians. That the tragick authors laboured againſt the Chorus, will appear from their efforts to expel Bacchus and his Satyrs from the ſtage, in which they were long time oppoſed by the audience, and at laſt by certain ingenious expedients, which were a kind of compromiſe with the publick, effected their point: This in part was brought about by the introduction of a fuller ſcene and a more active fable, but the Chorus with its accompaniments kept its place; and the poet, who ſeldom ventured upon introducing more than three ſpeakers on the ſcene at the ſame time, qualified the ſterility of his buſineſs by giving to the Chorus a ſhare of the dialogue, who, at the ſame time that they furniſhed the ſtage with numbers, were not counted amongſt the ſpeaking characters according to the rigour of the uſage above-mentioned. A man muſt be an enthuſiaſt for antiquity, who can find charms in the dialogue-part of a Greek chorus, and reconcile himſelf to their unnatural and chilling interruptions of the action and pathos of the ſcene: I am fully perſuaded they came there upon motives of expediency only, and kept their poſt upon the plea of long poſſeſſion, and the attractions of ſpectacle and muſick: In ſhort, nature was ſacrificed to the diſplay of art, and the heart gave up its feelings that the ear and eye might be gratified.

When Milton therefore takes the Chorus into his dialogue, excluding from his drama the lyrick ſtrophe and antiſtrophe, he rejects what I conceive

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to be its only recommendation, and which an elegant contemporary in his imitations of the Greek tragedy is more properly attentive to; at the ſame time it cannot be denied that Milton's Chorus ſubſcribes more to the dialogues, and harmonizes better with the buſineſs of the ſcene, than that of any Greek tragedy we can now refer to.

I would now proceed to a review of the performance itſelf, if it were not a diſcuſſion, which the author of *The Rambler* has very ably prevented me in; reſpect however to an authority ſo high in criticiſm muſt not prevent me from obſerving, that, when he ſays—*This is the tragedy which ignorance has admired and bigotry applauded*, he makes it meritorious in any future critick to attempt at following him over the ground he has trod, for the purpoſe of diſcovering what thoſe blemiſhes are, which he has found out by ſuperiour ſagacity, and which others have ſo palpably overlooked, as to merit the diſgraceful character of *ignorance and bigotry*.

The principal, and in effect the only, objection, which he ſtates, is that *the poem wants a middle, ſince nothing paſſes between the firſt act and the laſt, that either haſtens or delays the death of Samſon.* This demands examination: The death of Samſon I need not deſcribe: it is a ſudden, momentary, event; what can haſten or delay it, but the will of the perſon, who by an exertion of miraculous ſtrength was to bury himſelf under the ruins of a ſtructure, in which his enemies were aſſembled? To determine that will, depends upon the impulſe of his own ſpirit, or it may be upon the inſpiration of

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Heaven: If there be any incidents in the body of the drama, which lead to this determination, and indicate an impulſe, either natural or preternatural, ſuch muſt be called leading incidents; and thoſe leading incidents will conſtitute a middle, or, in more diffuſe terms, the middle buſineſs of the drama. Manoah in his interview with Samſon, which the author of the Rambler denominates the ſecond act of the tragedy, tells him

> " This day the Philiſtines a popular feaſt
> " Here celebrate in Gaza, and proclaim
> " Great pomp, and ſacrifice, and praiſes loud,
> " To Dagon, as their God —"

Here is information of a meeting of his enemies to celebrate their idolatrous triumphs; an incident of juſt provocation to the ſervant of the living God, an opportunity perhaps for vengeance, either human or divine; if it paſſes without notice from Samſon, it is not to be ſtyled an incident; if, on the contrary, he remarks upon it, it muſt be one—but Samſon replies,

> " Dagon muſt ſtoop, and ſhall ere long receive
> " Such a diſcomfit, as ſhall quite deſpoil him
> " Of all theſe boaſted trophies won on me,
> " And with confuſion blank his worſhippers."

Who will ſay the expectation is not here prepared for ſome cataſtrophe, we know not what, but awful it muſt be, for it is Samſon which denounces the downfall of the idol, it is God who inſpires the denunciation; the criſis is important, for it is that which ſhall decide whether God or Dagon is to triumph, it is in the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the expreſſion

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—*dignus vindice nodus*—and therefore we may boldly pronounce *Deus interfit!*

That this interpretation meets the ſenſe of the author, is clear from the remark of Manoah, who is made to ſay that *he receives theſe words as a prophecy.* Prophetick they are, and were meant to be by the poet, who, in this uſe of his ſacred prophecy, imitates the heathen oracles, on which ſeveral of their dramatick plots are conſtructed, as might be ſhown by obvious examples. The interview with Manoah then is conducive to the cataſtrophe, and the drama is not in this ſcene devoid of incident.

Dalila next appears, and, if whatever tends to raiſe our intereſt in the leading character of the tragedy cannot rightly be called epiſodical, the introduction of this perſon ought not to be accounted ſuch; for who but this perſon is the cauſe and origin of all the pathos and diſtreſs of the ſtory? The dialogue of this ſcene is moral, affecting, and ſublime; it is alſo ſtrictly characteriſtick.

The next ſcene exhibits the tremendous giant Harapha, and the contraſt thereby produced is amongſt the beauties of the poem, and may of itſelf be termed an important incident: That it leads to the cataſtrophe I think will not be diſputed, and, if it is aſked in what manner, the Chorus will ſupply us with an anſwer —

> " He will directly to the Lords I fear,
> " And with malicious counſel ſtir them up
> " Some way or other further to afflict thee."

Here is another prediction connected with the plot, and verified by its cataſtrophe; for Samſon is commanded to come to the feſtival and entertain the

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revellers with ſome feats of ſtrength: Theſe commands he reſiſts, but obeys an impulſe of his mind by going afterwards, and thereby fulfils the prophetick declaration he had made to his father in the ſecond act. What incident can ſhow more management and addreſs in the poet, than this of Samſon's refuſing the ſummons of the idolaters and obeying the viſitation of God's Spirit.

And now I may confidently appeal to the judicious reader, whether the *Samſon Agoniſtes* is ſo void of incident between the opening and concluſion as fairly to be pronounced *to want a middle.* Simple it is from firſt to laſt, ſimple perhaps to a degree of coldneſs in ſome of its parts; but to ſay that nothing paſſes between the firſt act and the laſt, *which haſtens or delays the death of Samſon,* is not correct, becauſe the very incidents are to be found, which conduce to the cataſtrophe, and but for which it could not have come to paſs.

The author of the Rambler profeſſes to examine the *Samſon Agoniſtes* according to the rule laid down by Ariſtotle for the diſpoſition and perfection of a tragedy, and this rule he informs us is that it ſhould have *a beginning, a middle, and an end.* And is this the mighty purpoſe for which the authority of Ariſtotle is appealed to? If it be thus the author of the Rambler has read *The Poeticks,* and this be the beſt rule he can collect from that treatiſe, I am afraid he will find it too ſhort a meaſure for the poet he is examining, or the critick he is quoting. Ariſtotle had ſaid that *every whole hath not amplitude enough for the conſtruction of a tragick fable; now by a whole,* (adds he in the way

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of illuſtration) *I mean that, which hath beginning, middle, and end.* This and no more is what he ſays upon beginning, middle, and end; and this, which the author of the Rambler conceives to be a rule for tragedy, turns out to be merely an explanation of the word *whole*, which is only one term amongſt many employed by the critick in his profeſſed and complete definition of tragedy. I ſhould add that Ariſtotle gives a further explanation of the terms, beginning, middle, and end, which the author of the Rambler hath turned into Engliſh, but in ſo doing he hath inexcuſably turned them out of their original ſenſe as well as language; as any curious critick may be convinced of, who compares them with Ariſtotle's words in the eighth chapter of the *Poeticks.*

Of the poetick diction of the *Samſon Agoniſtes* I have already ſpoken in general; to particularize paſſages of ſtriking beauty would draw me into too great length; at the ſame time, not to paſs over ſo pleaſing a part of my undertaking in abſolute ſilence, I will give the following reply of Samſon to the Chorus:

> " Wherever fountain or freſh current flow'd
> " Againſt the eaſtern ray, tranſlucent, pure
> " With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
> " I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying
> " Thirſt, and refreſh'd; nor envied them the grape,
> " Whoſe heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes."

Of the character I may ſay in few words, that Samſon poſſeſſes all the terrifick majeſty of *Prometheus chained*, the myſterious diſtreſs of *Œdipus*, and the pitiable wretchedneſs of *Philoctetes.* His

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properties, like thoſe of the firſt, are ſomething above human; his misfortunes, like thoſe of the ſecond, are derivable from the pleaſure of Heaven, and involved in oracles; his condition, like that of the laſt, is the moſt abject, which human nature can be reduced to from a ſtate of dignity and ſplendour.

Of the cataſtrophe there remains only to remark, that it is of unparalleled majeſty and terrour.

CUMBERLAND.

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THE ARGUMENT.

* *Samſon, made captive, blind, and now in the priſon at Gaza, there to labour as in a common work-*

* *Samſon, made captive, blind,* &c.] Mr. Upton is the firſt critick who has obſerved, what yet is obvious, that in this tragedy Samſon "impriſoned and blind, and the captive ſtate of Iſrael, livelily repreſent our blind poet with the republican party, after the Reſtoration, afflicted and perſecuted." See his *Crit. Obſerv. on Shakſpeare*, 1748, p. 144. I muſt add, that Milton, who artfully envelopes much of his own hiſtory and of the times in this drama, had long before uſed the character and ſituation of Samſon for a temporary allegory in *The Reaſon of Church Government*, B. ii. Concluſion. He ſuppoſes Samſon to be a king, who, being diſciplined in temperance, grows perfect in ſtrength, his illuſtrious and ſunny locks being the Laws. While theſe are undiminiſhed and unſhorn, with the jaw-bone of an aſs, that is, with the word of his meaneſt officer, he defeats thouſands of his adverſaries. But, reclining his head on the lap of flattering prelates, while he ſleeps, they cut off thoſe bright treſſes of his Laws and Prerogatives, once his ornament and defence, delivering him over to violent and oppreſſive counſellors; who, like the Philiſtines, extinguiſh the eyes of his natural diſcernment, forcing him to grind in the priſon-houſe of their inſidious deſigns againſt his power. "Till he, knowing this prelatical raſor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nouriſh again his puiſſant hair, the golden beams of Law and Right; and they, ſternly ſhook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of thoſe his evil counſellors, but not without great affliction to himſelf."

T. WARTON.

The younger Richardſon, in his manuſcript obſervations on this tragedy, has noticed the alluſions of the poet to the hiſtory of himſelf and of his own days. "This poem," he remarks, "was written when the Saints were oppreſſed, and in little appearance of ever ſeeing their own times again. Therefore THE

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houſe, on a feſtival day, in the general ceſſation from labour, comes forth into the open air, to a place nigh, ſomewhat retired, there to ſit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be viſited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who ſeek to comfort him what they can; then by his old father Manoah, who endeavours the like, and withal tells him his purpoſe to procure his liberty by ranſom; laſtly, that this feaſt was proclaimed by the Philiſtines as a day of thankſgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samſon, which yet more troubles him. Manoah then departs to proſecute his endeavour with the Philiſtine lords for Samſon's redemption; who in the mean while is viſited by other perſons; and laſtly by a publick officer to require his coming to the feaſt before the lords and people, to play or ſhow his ſtrength in their preſence; he at firſt refuſes, diſmiſſing the publick officer with abſolute denial to come; at length, perſuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the ſecond time with great threatenings to fetch him: The Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoah returns full of joyful hope, to procure ere long his ſon's deliverance: in the

CONCLUSION is with a view to comfort them, as well as himſelf, by ſo great an example of Providence, *Aye watching o'er his Saints with eye unſeene*, as he writes on the glaſs window at Chalfont. This Milton loves to allude to in all his writings, and is the great moral of this tragedy; as Mr. Pope obſerved to me. And, conſidering this point further ſome days afterwards, I am perſuaded Milton muſt have a view to himſelf in Samſon." TODD.

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midſt of which diſcourſe an Hebrew comes in haſte, confuſedly at firſt, and afterward more diſtinctly, relating the cataſtrophe, what Samſon had done to the Philiſtines, and by accident to himſelf; wherewith the tragedy ends.

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THE PERSONS.

SAMSON.

MANOAH, *the Father of Samſon.*

DALILA, *his Wife.*

HARAPHA *of Gath.*

Publick Officer.

Meſſenger.

Chorus of Danites.

The *Scene* before the Priſon in Gaza.

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SAMSON AGONISTES *.

Samſon, [Attendant leading him.]

A Little onward lend thy guiding hand
To theſe dark ſteps, a little further on;

* *Samſon* Agoniſtes] That is, Samſon *an actor;* Samſon, being repreſented in a play. Ἀγωνιστὴς, ludio, hiſtrio, actor ſcenicus. NEWTON.

Ἀγωνιστὴς is here rather *athleta.* The ſubject of the drama is Samſon brought forth to exhibit his athletick powers. See ver. 1314. That ſuch was Milton's intended ſenſe of *Agoniſtes*, may further be collected from his uſe of the word *antagoniſt*, ver. 1628. Beſides, as Milton entitled his *Samſon* a tragedy, he certainly never adjoined the word *Agoniſtes* to ſignify Samſon *repreſented in a play.* But this diſtinguiſhing title of *Agoniſtes* is, in fact, applied in conformity to the ancient uſage of the tragick poets, who often, in the titles of their pieces, limited their hero to the immediate ſituation in which they found him. Among the remaining tragedies of Æſchylus we have the ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ, Prometheus CHAINED, *in a ſtate of puniſhment;* which title of ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ was intended to diſtinguiſh it from a preceding drama, *on the ſubject of his offence*, entitled ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΣ; and from a ſubſequent one, ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΛΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ, which completed the ſubject in repreſenting *his releaſe.* The ancients had very commonly a ſeries of plays on the progreſſive parts of the ſame ſubject. Milton had alſo deſigned a previous part of Samſon's ſtory as a tragedy, under the title of Samſon Πυρσοφόρος or Υβριστὴς, *Samſon after his firſt marriage revenging himſelf on the Philiſtines.* So that *Agoniſtes*, when firſt adopted by Milton as a title, was moſt probably meant to diſtinguiſh it from the preceding drama on a previous part of Samſon's ſtory. DUNSTER.

In the application of *Agoniſtes* to *Samſon*, Milton might be thought to have followed the authority of Hieronymus Zieglerus,

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For yonder bank hath choice of ſun or ſhade:
There I am wont to ſit, when any chance
Relieves me from my taſk of ſervile toil,
Daily in the common priſon elſe enjoin'd me,
Where I, a priſoner chain'd, ſcarce freely draw
The air impriſon'd alſo, cloſe and damp,
Unwholeſome draught: but here I feel amends,
The breath of Heaven freſh blowing, pure and
ſweet,
With day-ſpring born; here leave me to reſpire.—
This day a ſolemn feaſt the people hold

if credit could be given to Lauder, who pretends that Ziegler wrote a tragedy, with this characteriſtick title, printed at Augſburg, in 1547. I find Ziegler's tragedy of *Samſon*, publiſhed indeed in the firſt volume of *Dramata Sacra*, *Aug.* 1547, but not with the title of *Agoniſtes*, nor even with a ſingle admiſſion of the word into it! TODD.

Ver. 1. *A little onward* &c.] Milton, after the example of the Greek tragedians, whom he profeſſes to imitate, opens his drama with introducing one of its principal perſonages explaining the ſtory upon which it is founded. THYER.

Ibid. *A little onward lend thy guiding hand*
To theſe dark ſteps,] So Tireſias in Euripides, *Phœniſſæ*, ver. 841.

Ἡγοῦ πάροιθε, δύσγαιε, ὡς ΤΥΦΛΩ ΠΟΔΙ κ. τ. λ.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 3. *For yonder bank*] The ſcene of this tragedy is much the ſame as that of Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ in Sophocles, where blind Oedipus is conducted in like manner, and repreſented ſitting upon a little hill near Athens: but yet I think there is ſcarcely a ſingle thought the ſame in the two pieces, and I am ſure the Greek tragedy can have no pretence to be eſteemed better, but only becauſe it is two thouſand years older. NEWTON.

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To Dagon their ſea-idol, and forbid
Laborious works; unwillingly this reſt
Their ſuperſtition yields me; hence with leave
Retiring from the popular noiſe, I ſeek
This unfrequented place to find ſome eaſe,
Eaſe to the body ſome, none to the mind
From reſtleſs thoughts, that, like a deadly ſwarm
Of hornets arm'd, no ſooner found alone,
But ruſh upon me thronging, and preſent
Times paſt, what once I was, and what am now.

Ver. 13. *To Dagon their ſea-idol,*] Milton, as doctor Newton obſerves, both here and in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, follows the opinion of thoſe, who deſcribe this idol as part man, part fiſh, B. i. 462. Some alſo deſcribe the idol as part woman, and part fiſh:

" Deſinit in piſcem mulier formoſa ſuperne,"

according to Calmet; but ſee Selden on this ſubject, and particularly the elaborate account of Dagon in the *Curioſitates Inauditæ* Jacobi Gaffarelli, Hamb. 1676, p. 46—57, Notæ; to which a repreſentation of the idol is prefixed. TODD.

Ver. 19. *From reſtleſs thoughts, that, like a deadly ſwarm Of hornets arm'd,* &c.] Compare ver. 623. And ſuch alſo is the exclamation of Macbeth, A. iii. S. ii. " O, *full of ſcorpions* is my mind!" But Milton's whole expreſſion reſembles a paſſage in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 164. " A new *ſwarm* of *thoughts ſtinging* her mind." See alſo Poems at the end of Shakſpeare's Poems, 12mo. Printed by T. Cotes. " An allegorical alluſion of melancholy thoughts to bees.

" Come, you *ſwarmes of thoughts*, and bring
" To this crazie hive of mine,
" Not your hony, but your *ſting*;
" Naked I my heart reſigne." TODD.

Ver. 22. ——— *what once I was, and what am now.*] As in *Par. Loſt*, Book iv. 23.

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O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
Twice by an Angel, who at laſt in ſight
Of both my parents all in flames aſcended
From off the altar, where an offering burn'd,
As in a fiery column charioting
His God-like preſence, and from ſome great act
Or benefit reveal'd to Abraham's race?
Why was my breeding order'd and preſcrib'd
As of a perſon ſeparate to God,
Deſign'd for great exploits; if I muſt die
Betray'd, captiv'd, and both my eyes put out,

——— " Now conſcience wakes deſpair
" That ſlumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
" *Of what he was, what is.*" TODD.

Ver. 24. *Twice by an Angel,*] Once to his mother, and again to his father Manoah and his mother both; and the ſecond time the Angel aſcended in the flame of the altar, *Judges* xiii. 3, 11, 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 27. *As in a fiery column charioting*] So Joſephus ſays: Τὰ δὴ, λαμψάντος πυρὸς, ἅμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐκαίετο· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΠΝΟΥ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ ἀνέων εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερὸς ἦν. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. v. cap. 10. TODD.

Ver. 28. ——————— and *from ſome great act*] Mr. Sympſon ſays that the true reading is " *as* from ſome great act:" but the poet would hardly ſay " *As* in a fiery column &c." " *as* from ſome great act &c." and therefore we may retain *and*, and *as* may be underſtood though not expreſſed. *And* as *from ſome great act* &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 33. *Betray'd, captiv'd.*] *Captiv'd* is accented on the laſt ſyllable here, and in ver. 694, as by Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* ii. iv. 16.

" Thus when as Guyon Furor had *captiv'd.*"

And by Fairfax, B. xix. ſt. 95.

" Free was Erminia, but *captiv'd* her heart." NEWTON.

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Made of my enemies the ſcorn and gaze;
To grind in brazen fetters under taſk
With this Heaven-gifted ſtrength? O glorious ſtrength,
Put to the labour of a beaſt, debas'd
Lower than bond-ſlave! Promiſe was that I
Should Iſrael from Philiſtian yoke deliver;
Aſk for this great deliverer now, and find him
Eyeleſs in Gaza at the mill with ſlaves,
Himſelf in bonds under Philiſtian yoke:
Yet ſtay, let me not raſhly call in doubt
Divine prediction; what if all foretold
Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default,
Whom have I to complain of but myſelf?
Who this high gift of ſtrength committed to me,
In what part lodg'd, how eaſily bereft me,
Under the ſeal of ſilence could not keep,
But weakly to a woman muſt reveal it,
O'ercome with importunity and tears.
O impotence of mind, in body ſtrong!
But what is ſtrength without a double ſhare
Of wiſdom? vaſt, unwieldy, burdenſome,

Ver. 40. *Aſk for this great deliverer now*, &c.] This may be conſidered as political, referring to the proſpects there were, not long before, of the republican party overturning monarchy; and to that lately victorious party being now completely itſelf overcome, and ſubject to the yoke which it had once apparently removed and trampled on. DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. *But what is ſtrength without a double ſhare Of wiſdom?* &c.] Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 363.

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Proudly ſecure, yet liable to fall
By weakeſt ſubtleties, not made to rule,
But to ſubſerve where wiſdom bears command!
God, when he gave me ſtrength, to ſhow withal
How ſlight the gift was, hung it in my hair.
But peace, I muſt not quarrel with the will
Of higheſt diſpenſation, which herein
Haply had ends above my reach to know:
Suffices that to me ſtrength is my bane,
And proves the ſource of all my miſeries;
So many, and ſo huge, that each apart
Would aſk a life to wail; but chief of all,
O loſs of ſight, of thee I moſt complain!

" Tu vires ſine mente geris——
——————" tu tantum corpore prodes,
" Nos animo; quantóque ratem qui temperat &c."
JORTIN.

And Horace, *Od.* III. iv. 65.

" Vis conſilî expers mole ruit ſua." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 55. *Proudly ſecure, yet liable to fall*
By weakeſt ſubtleties,] Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 1099.

Ἀλλ' ἄνδρα χρὴ, κἂν σῶμα γενναῖον μέγα,
Δουλῶν φυσιῶν εἶν, κἂν ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς κακῆς. TODD.

Ver. 58. —————————— *to ſhow withal*
How ſlight the gift was, hung it in my hair.] In the character of Samſon, as delineated in " Patriarchæ, ſive Chriſti Servatoris Genealogia per Mundi Ætates tradu&ta, 12mo. Lond. 1657," the ſame remark occurs:

" At Martius ille ſpiritus capillis illigatur;
" Ut ſcias, quàm caducum ſit donum juvenile robur,
" Cùm tenui admodùm de filo pendeat." TODD.

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Blind among enemies, O worſe than chains,
Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age!
Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct,
And all her various objects of delight
Annull'd, which might in part my grief have eas'd,
Inferiour to the vileſt now become
Of man or worm; the vileſt here excel me;
They creep, yet ſee; I, dark in light, expos'd
To daily fraud, contempt, abuſe, and wrong,

Ver. 68. *Blind among enemies, O worſe than chains,*
Dungeon, or beggery, or *decrepit* age!] Milton, in a letter to Oldenburgh, dated Jul. 6. 1654, ſpeaking of ſome intended work, ſays, "ſiquidem per valetudinem et *hanc luminum orbitatem* omni *ſenectute graviorem* licuerit, &c." As in the text before us, where Calton propoſes to read "beggery *in* decrepit age." But the Latin paſſage aſcertains Milton's idea, and proves the preſent reading to be right. To ſay nothing, that the alteration weakens the context; the force of which conſiſts in an abrupt accumulation of things detached. *Beggery* therefore and *age* ſhould not be blended. T. WARTON.

Ver. 69. ——————— *or decrepit age!*] So it is printed in the firſt edition; the latter editors have omitted *or*, concluding I ſuppoſe that it made the verſe a ſyllable too long. NEWTON.

Tonſon's edition of 1747 reads exactly the ſame as Milton's own edition. TODD.

Ver. 75. ——————— *I, dark in light, expos'd*
To daily fraud, contempt, abuſe, and wrong,
Within doors, or without, ſtill as a fool,
In power of others, never in my own;
Scarce half I ſeem to live, dead more than half.] In theſe lines the poet ſeems to paint himſelf.. The litigation of his will produced a collection of evidence relating to the teſtator, which renders the diſcovery of thoſe long-forgotten papers peculiarly intereſting: they ſhow very forcibly, and in new points

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Within doors, or without, ſtill as a fool,
In power of others, never in my own;
Scarce half I ſeem to live, dead more than half.
O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipſe

of view, his domeſtick infelicity, and his amiable diſpoſition. The tender and ſublime poet, whoſe ſenſibility and ſufferings were ſo great, appears to have been almoſt as unfortunate in his daughters as the Lear of Shakſpeare. A ſervant declares in evidence, that her deceaſed maſter, a little before his laſt marriage, had lamented to her the ingratitude and cruelty of his children. He complained that they combined to defraud him in the economy of his houſe, and ſold ſeveral of his books in the baſeſt manner. His feelings on ſuch an outrage, both as a parent and a ſcholar, muſt have been ſingularly painful; perhaps they ſuggeſted to him theſe very pathetick lines. HAYLEY.

As it appears, from the lateſt diſcoveries relating to the domeſtick life of Milton, that his wife was particularly attentive to him, and treated his infirmities with much tenderneſs, this paſſage ſeems to reſtrict the time when this drama was written to a period previous to his laſt marriage, or at leaſt nearly to that immediate time, while the ſingular ill treatment of his daughters was freſh in his memory. This alſo coincides with what Mr. Hayley has obſerved reſpecting its being written immediately after the execution of Sir Henry Vane, which took place June 14, 1662. Milton was then in his fifty-fourth year, in which we are told he married his third wife. This would make the *Agoniſtes* at leaſt three years anterior to the *Paradiſe Regained*, of which we know he had not thought previous to the Summer of 1665; when, on account of the plague raging in London, he retired to Chalfont, where an accidental expreſſion of Elwood, on returning him the copy of Paradiſe Loſt, laid the foundation of the ſecond poem. DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. *O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,*
Irrecoverably dark,] This is far more pathetick than the exclamation of Oedipus, which the poet perhaps had now in mind, *Oed. Tyr.* v. 1337.

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Without all hope of day!
O firſt created Beam, and thou great Word,
"Let there be light, and light was over all;"
Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree?
The ſun to me is dark
And ſilent as the moon,
When ſhe deſerts the night,
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.
Since light ſo neceſſary is to life,
And almoſt life itſelf, if it be true
That light is in the ſoul,
She all in every part; why was the ſight
To ſuch a tender ball as the eye confin'd,
So obvious and ſo eaſy to be quench'd?

Ἰὼ σκότου νύφος ἰμὸν
Ἀνάτρεπτον, ἀπαλόμενον,
Ἄφατον, ἀδάμαστόν τι,
Καὶ δυσούριστον. TODD.

Ver. 87. *And* ſilent *as the* moon.] *Silens luna* is the moon at or near the change, and in conjunction with the ſun. Plin. i. Lib. xvi. cap. 39. The interlunar cave is here called *vacant*, "quia luna ibi vacat opere et miniſterio ſuo," becauſe the moon is idle, and uſeleſs, and makes no return of light.

MEADOWCOURT.

Dante expreſſes the abſence of the ſun in the ſame manner as Milton deſcribes that of the moon, *Inferno*, c. i.

"Mi ripingeva là, dove 'l ſol *tace*."

See alſo the *Inferno*, c. v.

"I' venni in luogo d' *ogni luce muto*."

Catullus has the expreſſion, "cùm *tacet* nox," VII. 7. But Seneca ſeems alſo to have been in Milton's eye, *Hippolyt.* 308.

"Arſit obſcuri dea clara mundi
"*Nocte deſerta*." TODD.

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And not, as feeling, through all parts diffus'd,
That ſhe might look at will through every pore?
Then had I not been thus exil'd from light,
As in the land of darkneſs, yet in light,
To live a life half dead, a living death,
And buried; but, O yet more miſerable!

Ver. 100. *To live a life half dead, a* living death,] This phraſe, *a living death*, which the poet alſo uſes in *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 788, appears to have been very common amongſt our elder poets. Thus, in Sackville's *Induction*, of Sleep perſonified,

——————" as a *liuing death*,
" So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath."

Again, in Drummond's *Poems*, part 2d. Edinb. 1616.

" O woefull Life! Life? No, but *living death*."

Again, in *Wily Beguiled*, 1623.

" My heart's wo makes this life a *liuing death*."

Again, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Progreſs*, A. v. S. i.

" A life? I ſtyle it falſe; a *living death*."

Shakſpeare applies it to the power of a lady's eyes, *Rich.* III. A. i. S. ii.

——— " they kill me with a *liuing death*."

So does Sylveſter, *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 613.

" Whoſe euery glance darts me a *living death*."

Daniel, in one of his *Sonnets*, applies it to Love;

" If this be Love, to live a *living death*,
" Then do I love."

This conceit, uſed by others alſo, may have been adopted from the Italian; as Petrarch thus ſpeaks of Love, *Sonet.* 102, parte prima.

" O *viva morte*, o dilettoſo male."

Among the modern poets, I find Pope in his Rape of the Lock, and Moore in his twelfth Fable, adopting the phraſe before us. TODD.

Ver. 101. *And* buried;] In Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 9. is the ſame phraſe, a " living *buried* man." TODD.

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Myſelf my ſepulchre, a moving grave;
Buried, yet not exempt,
By privilege of death and burial,
From worſt of other evils, pains and wrongs;
But made hereby obnoxious more
To all the miſeries of life,
Life in captivity
Among inhuman foes.
But who are theſe? for with joint pace I hear
The tread of many feet ſteering this way;
Perhaps my enemies, who come to ſtare

Ver. 102. *Myſelf* my ſepulchre, *a moving* grave;] The expreſſion, "*a living grave*," is in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352. The ſame phraſe is in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, 1621. p. 493. And in Sir Robert Howard's *Veſtal Virgin*, 1665, is the phraſe

—— "I ſeem nothing but a *walking grave*."

So, in Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, part iii. p. 33. edit. 1642.

"She ſurely deems him her *live-walking grave*." TODD.

Ver. 111. —————— ſteering *this way*;] If this be the right reading, the metaphor is extremely hard and abrupt. A common man would have ſaid "*bearing* this way."

WARBURTON.

I believe *ſteering* is the right reading. So, in the *Ode on the Nativ.* ver. 146.

"With radiant *feet* the tiſſued clouds down *ſteering*."

The old writers uſe it ſimply for *moving*. Thus Chaucer, in *The Flower and the Leaf*:

"*Stering* ſo faſt, that all the earth trembled." HURD.

The reading of *ſteering* is alſo confirmed by Milton's manuſcript of *Comus*, ver. 310.

"Without ſure *ſteerage* of well-practiz'd *feet*." TODD.

Ver. 112. *Perhaps my enemies, who come to ſtare*
At my affliction,] See the *Ajax* of Sophocles, v. 79.

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At my affliction, and perhaps to inſult,
Their daily practice to afflict me more.

[Enter] *Chorus.*

Chor. This, this is he; ſoftly a while, 115
Let us not break in upon him:
O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
See how he lies at random, careleſsly diffus'd,

Οὐκᾶν γέλως ἥδιστος εἰς ἐχθρὰς γελᾶν.

Again, where Ajax himſelf is the ſpeaker, v. 368.

Ω μοι γέλωτος, οἷον ὑβρίσθην ἄρα. TODD.

Ver. 115. ——————— *ſoftly awhile,*
Let us not break in upon him:] Thus, in the *Oreſtes* of Euripides, Electra warns the Chorus to move ſoftly for fear of waking her brother when aſleep in the interval of his ſufferings:

Ω φίλταταί γυναικες, ΗΣΥΧΩ ΠΟΔΙ
ΧΩΡΕΙΤΕ τε, μη ψοφεινε, μηδ' εςω κτυπος.

And thus the Chorus, when they approach:

Σιγα, σιγα, λεπτον ιχνος αρβυλης
Τιθειτε, κ. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 118. ——————— *careleſsly* diffus'd,] This beautiful application of the word *diffus'd* Milton has borrowed from the Latins. So Ovid *Ex Ponto.* III. iii. 7.

" Publica me requies curarum ſomnus habebat,
" *Fuſa*que erant toto languida membra toro." THYER.

Diffus'd may be alſo termed a Græciſm. See Euripides, *Heraclid.* v. 75. edit. Barnes.

Ἴδετε τὸν γέροντα
Μᾶλλον ἐπὶ σοίδῳ
ΧΥΜΕΝΟΝ.

Compare Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 7.

" Yet goodly court he made ſtill to his dame,
" *Pour'd out* in looſneſſe on the graſſy ground."

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With languiſh'd head unpropt,
As one paſt hope, abandon'd,
And by himſelf given over;
In ſlaviſh habit, ill-fitted weeds
O'er-worn and ſoil'd;
Or do my eyes miſrepreſent? Can this be he,
That heroick, that renown'd,
Irreſiſtible Samſon? whom unarm'd
No ſtrength of man, or fierceſt wild beaſt, could withſtand;
Who tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid;
Ran on embattled armies clad in iron;
And, weaponleſs himſelf,
Made arms ridiculous, uſeleſs the forgery
Of brazen ſhield and ſpear, the hammer'd cuiraſs,
Chaly'bean temper'd ſteel, and frock of mail

Again, *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 32.

" There he him found all *careleſsly diſplaid*
" In ſecret ſhadow &c." TODD.

Ver. 129. ———————— clad in iron;] So, in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, B. viii. ſt. 75.

" And Baldwin firſt well *clad in iron* hard."

See alſo Hor. *Od.* IV. xiv.

" Ut barbarorum Claudius *agmina*
" *Ferrata vaſto diruit impetu.*" TODD.

Ver. 130. ———— weaponleſs] We have in Spenſer " a knight ſtanding with empty hands all *weaponleſs*," Faer. Qu. v. v. 14. TODD.

Ver. 133. Chalybean *temper'd ſteel,*] That is, the beſt tempered ſteel by the *Chalybes*, who were famous among the ancients for their iron works. Virg. *Georg.* i. 58. " At Chalybes nudi ferrum." The adjective ſhould be pronounced *Chalybéan* with the

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Adamantéan proof?
But ſafeſt he who ſtood aloof,
When inſupportably his foot advanc'd,
In ſcorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,
Spurn'd them to death by troops. The bold
Aſcalonite
Fled from his lion ramp; old warriours turn'd

third ſyllable long according to Heinſius's reading of that verſe of Ovid. *Faſt.* iv. 405.

" Æs erat in pretio: *Chalybœia* maſſa latebat:"

but Milton makes it ſhort by the ſame poetical liberty, with which he had before uſed *Æ'gean* for *Ægéan*, and *Thyéſtean* for *Thyeſtéan*. NEWTON.

It is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe that Milton in this place meant the word to be read *Chalyb'ean*. As he often cuts off or contracts the *y* in the middle of words, he might have given it *Chal'bean*. Or he might have juſtified the anapæſt by Virgil's

" Flŭvĭōrum rex Eridanus—" DUNSTER.

Ver. 134. Adamantéan *proof?*] Dr. Johnſon thinks the ward *adamanteun* peculiar to Milton. Perhaps he coined it from Ovid, *Met.* vii. 104.

" Ecce *adamanteis* Vulcanum naribus &c." TODD.

Ver. 136. *When* inſupportably *his foot* advanc'd,] For this nervous expreſſion Milton was probably indebted to the following lines of Spenſer, *Faery Queen*, i. vii. 11.

" That when the knight he ſpied, he 'gan *advance*
" With huge force, and *inſupportable* main." THYER.

Ver. 138. ——————— *The bold Aſcalonite*] The inhabitant of *Aſcalon*, one of the five principal cities of the Philiſtines, mentioned I *Sam.* vi. 17. NEWTON.

Ver. 139. ——— *his lion ramp;*] His attack like that of a lion rampant. *Rampant* is an heraldick term. But ſee *Par. L.* B. vii. 466. And compare *Par. L.* B. iv. 343 &c. where the fierceſt and largeſt animals " *gambolled* before Adam and Eve:"

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Their plated backs under his heel;
Or, groveling, ſoil'd their creſted helmets in the duſt.
Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
The jaw of a dead aſs, his ſword of bone,
A thouſand fore-ſkins fell, the flower of Paleſtine,
In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day.

" Sporting the lion RAMP'D, and in his paw
" Dandled the kid:"

That is, he *gambolled*, ſtanding on his two hind legs. Hence perhaps to *romp*, to *gambol*. But *ramp* is moſt commonly uſed in a ſenſe of rage and violence, as in the text. And in the *Pſalms*: " A RAMPING and a *roaring* lion." See Lye's Jun. Etymolog. in V. And Spenſer, F. Q. i. viii. 12. " Came *ramping* forth, &c." Sylveſter has the " *ramping* (or ſpreading) vine," like our author's " *gadding* vine" in Lycidas, *Du Bart*. ed. 4to. p. 220. T. WARTON.

Ver. 139. ——————— *old warriours turn'd Their plated backs* &c.] The deeds of valorous knights were now in Milton's mind. Artegall is thus deſcribed, " *like a lion*,"

" Hewing and flaſhing ſhields and helmets bright,
" And beating downe whatever nigh him came,
" That every one 'gan ſhun his dreadful ſight,
" No leſſe than Death &c." *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 41.

See a ſimilar account of Marinell, *Faer. Qu.* v. iii. 8. Compare alſo *The Warres of Cyrus*, bl. l. 4to. 1594.

" Is this the hand that plighted faith to me?
" The hand, that aye hath manag'd kingly armes,
" And *brought whole troops of mighty warriors down*."

As Samſon did, ver. 138. TODD.

Ver. 141. ——————— creſted helmets] " *Galeæ criſtatæ* quæ ſpeciem magnitudini corporum adderent." Liv. ix. 40. And Ovid, *Met*. viii. 25. " *Criſtata caſſide*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *In* Ramath-lechi, *famous to this day*.] Judges, xv. 17. " He caſt away the jaw-bone out of his hand, and

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Then by main force pull'd up, and on his
shoulders bore
The gates of Azza, post, and massy bar,
Up to the hill by Hebron, seat of giants old,
No journey of a sabbath-day, and loaded so;
Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven.
Which shall I first bewail,
Thy bondage or lost sight,
Prison within prison
Inseparably dark?
Thou art become (O worst imprisonment!)
The dungeon of thyself; thy soul,
(Which men enjoying sight oft without cause
complain)
Imprison'd now indeed,

called that place *Ramath-lechi*, that is, *the lifting up of the jaw-bone*, or *casting away of the jaw-bone*, as it is rendered in the margin of our Bibles. NEWTON.

Ver. 147. *The gates of* Azza,] Another name for *Gaza*. Sandys, speaking of this city, says, "*Gaza* or *Azà* signifieth *strong*: In the Persian language, *a treasury*." Travels, fol. 1615, p. 149. TODD.

Ver. 148. ——————— *Hebron, seat of giants old,*] For Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, and the seat of the Anakims, *Josh.* xv. 13, 14. And the Anakims were giants, which come of the giants, *Numb.* xiii. 33. NEWTON.

Ver. 157. ——————— *oft without cause* complain)] So Milton himself corrected it, but all the editions continue the old erratum *complain'd*. NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 corrected the errour, before doctor Newton. TODD.

Ver. 158. *Imprison'd now indeed,*
In real darkness *of the body dwells,*] Perhaps an

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In real darkneſs of the body dwells,
Shut up from outward light
To incorporate with gloomy night;
For inward light alas!
Puts forth no viſual beam.
O mirrour of our fickle ſtate,
Since man on earth, unparallell'd!
The rarer thy example ſtands,
By how much from the top of wonderous glory,
Strongeſt of mortal men,
To loweſt pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.
For him I reckon not in high eſtate

alluſion to *Matt.* vi 23. "If the light that is in thee be darkneſs, *how great is that darkneſs!*" So, in *Comus*, "he, that hides a *dark ſoul* and foul thoughts,

"*Benighted* walks under the mid-day ſun,
"Himſelf is his own dungeon." TODD.

Ver. 162. *For inward light alas!*
Puts forth no viſual beam.] The expreſſion is fine, and means the *ray of light*, which occaſions *viſion*. Pope has borrowed the expreſſion in one of his juvenile poems,

"He from thick films ſhall purge the *viſual ray*,
"And on the ſightleſs eye-ball pour the day."

Either he miſtook his original, and ſuppoſed Milton meant by *viſual ray* the *ſight*, or at leaſt thought himſelf at liberty to uſe it in that highly figurative ſenſe. See what is ſaid on the paſſage in my edition of Pope's works. WARBURTON.

Ver. 164. *O mirrour of our fickle ſtate*, &c.] There is a fine reſemblance in the remainder of theſe pathetick reflections to thoſe of the Chorus, on the fate of Œdipus Tyrannus, in the play of that name by Sophocles, v. 1211.

Ὦ γενεαὶ βροτῶν, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

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Whom long deſcent of birth,
Or the ſphere of fortune, raiſes;
But thee whoſe ſtrength, while virtue was her mate,
Might have ſubdued the earth,
Univerſally crown'd with higheſt praiſes.
Samſ. I hear the ſound of words; their ſenſe the air
Diſſolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.
Chor. He ſpeaks, let us draw nigh. Matchleſs in might,
The glory late of Iſrael, now the grief;
We come, thy friends and neighbours not unknown,
From Eſhtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,

Ver. 171. —— long *deſcent of birth,*] Juv. *Sat.* viii. 1.

——— " quid prodeſt, Pontice, *longo*
" Sanguine cenſeri?" TODD.

Ver. 172. *Or the ſphere of fortune,*] Fortune is painted on a globe, which by her influence is in a perpetual rotation on its axis. WARBURTON.

Ver. 178. *He* ſpeaks,] We have followed Milton's own edition: Moſt of the others have it " He *ſpake.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 179. *The glory late of Iſrael, now the grief;*] The turn of the expreſſion reſembles the following in P. Fletcher's *Piſc. Eclogues*, 1633, p. 27.

" The well known fiſher-boy—
" Which from the Muſes' ſpring, and churliſh Chame,
" Was fled; *his glory late, but now his ſhame.*" TODD.

Ver. 181. *From* Eſhtaol *and* Zora's *fruitful vale,*] Theſe were two towns of the tribe of Dan, *Joſh.* xix. 41: the latter the birth-place of Samſon, *Judg.* xiii. 2; and they were near

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To visit or bewail thee; or, if better,
Counsel or consolation we may bring,
Salve to thy sores; apt words have power to swage
The tumours of a troubled mind,
And are as balm to fester'd wounds.

Samſ. Your coming, Friends, revives me; for
I learn

one another. "*And the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan between* Zorah *and* Eſhtaol." *Judg.* xiii. 25. And they were both ſituated *in the valley*, Joſh. xv. 33: and therefore the poet with great exactneſs ſays *Eſhtaol* and *Zora's fruitful vale*. NEWTON.

Ver. 182. *To viſit* or *bewail thee;*] The poet dictated "To viſit *and* bewail thee:" The purpoſe of their viſit was to *bewail him; or, if better,* (that is if they found it more proper) to *adviſe* or *comfort* him. "Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium *fructum oculis ex ejus caſu capere vellent*, [See above ver. 112. *to ſtare at my affliction*] et qui propter veterem amicitiam *colloqui conſolarique cuperent*." Corn. Nepos *in vita Eumenis*. CALTON.

Ver. 184. *Salve to thy ſores;*] This expreſſion often occurs in our elder poetry. Thus in *The Teſtament of John Lydgate* &c. bl. l. no date, emprinted by Pynſon:

"Mekely with Davyd have mercy vpon me,
"*Salue* all my *ſoores* that they nat cancred be."

Again, in the *Paradiſe of Daintie Deviſes*, &c. fol. 31.

"Of trobled mynds in euery *ſore*, ſwete Muſicke hathe a *ſalue* in ſtore."

Again, in Harrington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607, B. xxv. ſt. 36.

"But nought could *ſalue* that *ſore*, nor ſwage her woes."

Thus alſo in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 27. "But no outward cheriſhing could *ſalve* the inward *ſore* of her minde." Spenſer often uſes the phraſe. See *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 36, v. vii. 38, and particularly vi. vi. 5. "Give *ſalves* to every *ſore*, but *counſell* to the mind." TODD.

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Now of my own experience, not by talk,
How counterfeit a coin they are who friends
Bear in their ſuperſcription, (of the moſt
I would be underſtood;) in proſperous days
They ſwarm, but in advérſe withdraw their head,
Not to be found, though ſought. Ye ſee, O
Friends,
How many evils have enclos'd me round;
Yet that which was the worſt now leaſt afflicts me,

Ver. 184. ——————— *apt words have power to ſwage* &c.] Alluding to theſe lines in Æſchylus, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 377.

Οὔκουν Προμηθεῖ τῆδε γιγνώσκεις, ὅτι
Ὀργῆς νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι.

Or to this paſſage in Menander.

Δόγμ' γὰρ ἐστι λοιπὸς φαρμακον μόνον. THYER.

Or perhaps to Horace, *Epiſt.* I. i. 34.

" Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
" Poſſis, et magnam morbi deponere partem." NEWTON.

Rather to the figurative language of Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 24, where Patience, to the "*ſoul-diſeaſed* knight, applies relief of ſalves and medicines,

" And thereto added *words of wondrous might*,
" By which to eaſe him he recured brief,
" And much *aſſwag'd* the paſſion of his plight."

See alſo *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 26. TODD.

Ver. 189. *How* counterfeit *a coin* &c.] The ground work of this paſſage is perhaps the following in the *Mirror for Magiſtrates:*

" A golden treaſure is the tried *friend;*
" But who may gold from *counterfeits* defend?"

Or in Shakſpeare's *Two Gent. Veron.* A. v. S. 4. " Thou *counterfeit* to thy true *friend!*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 195. *Yet that which was the worſt now leaſt afflicts me,*]

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Blindneſs; for had I fight, confus'd with ſhame,
How could I once look up, or heave the head,
Who, like a fooliſh pilot, have ſhipwreck'd
My veſſel truſted to me from above,

There is no inconſiſtence in this with what he had ſaid before ver. 66.

——————" but chief of all,
" O loſs of fight, of thee I moſt complain."

When he was by himſelf, he conſidered his blindneſs as the *worſt* of evils; but *now*, upon his friends coming in and ſeeing him in this wretched condition, it *leaſt afflicts me*, ſays he; as being ſome cover to his ſhame and confuſion. NEWTON.

Ver. 198. *Who, like a fooliſh pilot, have ſhipwreck'd My veſſel* &c.] Dr. Johnſon obſerves that " metaphors ſometimes find admiſſion, where their conſiſtency is not accurately preſerved. " Thus," he adds, with a reference to this paſſage, " Samſon confounds loquacity with a ſhipwreck." Surely this is not criticiſing very accurately. The fact is, Samſon aſcribes his own ruin, or *ſhipwreck*, to a very natural cauſe, his own indiſcretion. The Greek writers uſe ΝΑΥΑΓΕΩ, *to ſuffer ſhipwreck*, in a metaphorical ſenſe. It is particularly thus uſed by St. Paul for *ſhipwreck*, or the moſt fatal ruin, when cauſed immediately by miſconduct: " Holding faith and a good conſcience; which ſome having put away, concerning faith *have made ſhipwreck*," ΕΝΑΥΑΓΗΣΑΝ. In the *Table of Cebes*, it is ſaid of fooliſh and wicked men, ΝΑΥΑΓΟΥΣΙΝ ἐν βίῳ, " they *ſuffer ſhipwreck in life*." Compare Spenſer's deſcription of thoſe who are wrecked on the rock of vile reproach; and who,

——————" Having all their ſubſtance ſpent
" In wanton ioyes and luſt intemperate,
" Did afterwards *make ſhipwrack* violent
" Both of their life and fame, &c." F. Q. ii. xii. 7.

It may be obſerved alſo that St. James compares the tongue to the *helm of a ſhip*, Ch. iii. 4, and that Samſon ſuffered all he had undergone in conſequence of not duly *governing his tongue*. The metaphor then is ſo far alſo ſcriptural. DUNSTER.

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Gloriouſly rigg'd; and for a word, a tear,
Fool! have divulg'd the ſecret gift of God
To a deceitful woman? tell me, Friends,
Am I not ſung and proverb'd for a fool
In every ſtreet? do they not ſay, how well
Are come upon him his deſerts? yet why?
Immeaſurable ſtrength they might behold
In me, of wiſdom nothing more than mean;
This with the other ſhould, at leaſt, have pair'd,
Theſe two, proportion'd ill, drove me tranſverſe.
Chor. Tax not divine diſpoſal; wiſeſt men
Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd;

Ver. 203. *Am I not* ſung *and* proverb'd *for a fool* &c.] "And now I am their *ſong*, yea I am their *by-word*," Job, xxx. 9. See alſo *Pſalm* lxix. 11, 12. *Proverb'd*, Mr. Dunſter remarks, is a verb uſed by Shakſpeare, but not in the ſenſe given it by Milton, *Rom. & Jul.* A. i. S. 3. "For I am *proverb'd* with a grandſire's ſaying;" where to be *proverb'd*, is to be *provided with a proverb.* Sylveſter, he adds, uſes *proverbiz'd* in Milton's ſenſe, ſpeaking of Xenophon, *Du Bart.* 1621. p. 152.

"He that, for his honey-ſteeped ſtyle,
"Was *proverbiz'd* the attick muſe." TODD.

Ver. 210. ——————— wiſeſt *men*
Have err'd, &c.] He may allude to Solomon; or to the following paſſage in I *Eſdras* iv. 27. "Many alſo have periſhed, have *erred* and ſinned *for women*." But the poet ſeems to have been fond of aſſerting, that *wiſeſt* men have thus erred. Thus at v. 759.

"The *wiſeſt* and *beſt* men, full oft *beguil'd* &c."

Again, v. 1034.

"Whate'er it be to wiſeſt *men* and *beſt* &c."

And in his *Tetrachordon*, ſpeaking of marriage-choices, he ſays "The *beſt* and *wiſeſt* men, amidſt the ſincere and moſt cordial deſigns of their hearts, *do daily err* in chooſing." TODD.

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And ſhall again, pretend they ne'er ſo wiſe.
Deject not then ſo overmuch thyſelf,
Who haſt of ſorrow thy full load beſides:
Yet truth to ſay, I oft have heard men wonder
Why thou ſhould'ſt wed Philiſtian women rather
Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair,
At leaſt of thy own nation, and as noble.

Samſ. The firſt I ſaw at Timna, and ſhe pleas'd

Ver. 216. ——— *Philiſtian* women *rather*] So it is printed in Milton's own edition; and *woman* is a miſtake of the other editions; for more than one are mentioned afterwards. *The firſt I ſaw at Timna*, ver. 219. *The next I took to wife*, ver. 227. NEWTON.

The errour of *woman* had been before corrected in Tonſon's edition of 1747. TODD.

Ver. 219. *The firſt I ſaw at Timna, and ſhe pleas'd Me, not my parents*, &c.] None of the criticks have obſerved that Milton here alludes to ſome of the particulars of his *firſt match*. See alſo notes on the Nuncupative Will of Milton. The Chorus had juſt before remarked,

——— "I oft have heard men wonder
"Why thou ſhouldſt wed Philiſtian women rather
"Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair."

To ſay nothing of the diſſatisfaction Milton's firſt wife had conceived at her huſband's unſocial and philoſophical ſyſtem of life, ſo different from the convivial cheerfulneſs and plenty of her father's family, it is probable that the quarrel was owing to party, which alſo might operate mutually. But when Cromwell's faction proved victorious, her father, who had taken a very forward part in aſſiſting the king during the ſiege of Oxford, finding his affairs falling into diſtreſs, for prudential reaſons ſtrove to bring about an agreement between the ſeparated couple. And thus the reconciliation was intereſted; nor was it effected but by her unſolicited and apparently humble ſubmiſſion,

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Me, not my parents, that I ſought to wed
The daughter of an infidel: They knew not
That what I motion'd was of God; I knew
From intimate impúlſe, and therefore urg'd
The marriage on; that by occaſion hence
I might begin Iſrael's deliverance,
The work to which I was divinely call'd.
She proving falſe, the next I took to wife

and after the moſt earneſt intreaties which the huſband for ſome time reſiſted. On the whole therefore we may ſuppoſe that not much real or uninterrupted cordiality followed. And I think it clear that Milton's own experience, in the courſe of this marriage, furniſhed the ſubſtance of the ſentiments in another Speech of Samſon, ver. 750. to v. 763. Phillips ſays that Milton was inclined to pardon his repudiated bride "partly from his own *generous* nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to *perſeverance in anger and revenge.*" T. WARTON.

Ver. 222. *That what I* motion'd *was of God;*] It was printed *mention'd*, which is ſenſe indeed, but Milton himſelf in the table of Errata ſubſtituted *motion'd*, which is better; but the firſt errour hath ſtill prevailed in all the editions. NEWTON.

Motion'd is more poetical; and thus Adam to Eve, *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 229.

"Well haſt thou *motion'd*, well thy thoughts compar'd,
"How we might beſt fulfil the work &c."

And thus Ben Jonſon, in his *Fox*, A, ii. S. vj.

——————"Sir, the thing
"(But that I would not ſeem to counſel you)
"I ſhould have *motion'd* to you at the firſt."

Milton alſo uſes the word in his treatiſe *Of Reformation* &c.; "O Thou that, &c. when we were quite breathleſſe, of Thy free grace didſt *motion* peace, &c." I obſerve likewiſe that *motion'd* is here the reading of an edition preceding that of doctor Newton, viz. Tonſon's in 1747. TODD.

Ver. 226. ——— divinely] Lat. *divinitus*. RICHARDSON.

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(O that I never had! fond wiſh too late,)
Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,
That ſpecious monſter, my accompliſh'd ſnare.
I thought it lawful from my former act,
And the ſame end; ſtill watching to oppreſs
Iſrael's oppreſſours: of what now I ſuffer
She was not the prime cauſe, but I myſelf,
Who, vanquiſh'd with a peal of words, (O weakneſs!)
Gave up my fort of ſilence to a woman.
Chor. In ſeeking juſt occaſion to provoke
The Philiſtine, thy country's enemy,
Thou never waſt remiſs, I bear thee witneſs:
Yet Iſraël ſtill ſerves with all his ſons.
Samſ. That fault I take not on me, but transfer

Ver. 230. *That* ſpecious *monſter*,] In the Latin ſenſe of *ſpecioſus*, handſome, captivating. The whole expreſſion ſeems to refer to the Echidna of Heſiod. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——————— *my* accompliſh'd *ſnare*.] There ſeems to be a quibble in the uſe of this epithet. WARBURTON.

It rather appears to be irony, as in Euripid. *Medea*:

——————— Θαυμαζὸν δέ σε
Ἔχω πόσιν καὶ πιστὸν ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 235. *Who, vanquiſh'd with a peal of words,*
Gave up my fort &c.] This alluſion to modern artillery, in the mouth of Samſon, may appear no leſs objectionable than his references to the Grecian mythology. But the truth is, the poet was now thinking of his beloved Shakſpeare. See the note on v. 404, *Tongue-batteries*. TODD.

Ver. 241. *That fault* &c.] Milton certainly intended to reproach his countrymen indirectly, and as plainly as he dared, with the Reſtoration of Charles II, (which he accounted the

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On Iſrael's governours and heads of tribes,
Who, ſeeing thoſe great acts which God had done
Singly by me againſt their conquerours,
Acknowledg'd not, or not at all conſider'd,
Deliverance offer'd: I on the other ſide
Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds;
The deeds themſelves, though mute, ſpoke loud the doer:
But they perſiſted deaf, and would not ſeem
To count them things worth notice, till at length
Their lords the Philiſtines with gather'd powers
Enter'd Judea ſeeking me, who then
Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd;
Not flying, but fore-caſting in what place
To ſet upon them, what advantag'd beſt:
Mean while the men of Judah, to prevent
The harraſs of their land, beſet me round;
I willingly on ſome conditions came

reſtoration of ſlavery,) and with the execution of the Regicides. He purſues the ſame ſubject again v. 678 to v. 700. I wonder how the Licenſers of thoſe days let it paſs. JORTIN.

It is the more to be wondered at, as ſome paſſages in his *Hiſtory of England*, containing indirect remarks on his country, were ſtruck out by the Licenſer, in the ſame year. They were afterwards printed in a quarto pamphlet, in 1681; and in the edition of his *Proſe Works* in 1738 are admitted into their place in the third book of his Hiſtory. TODD.

Ver. 247. *Us'd no* ambition] *Going about with ſtudiouſneſs and affectation to gain praiſe*, as Mr. Richardſon ſays; alluding to the origin of the word in Latin. NEWTON.

Ver. 253. *Safe to the rock of Etham* &c.] Judges xv. 8. NEWTON.

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Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me
To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey,
Bound with two cords; but cords to me were threads
Touch'd with the flame: on their whole hoſt I flew
Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd
Their choiceſt youth; they only liv'd who fled.
Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe,
They had by this poſſeſs'd the towers of Gath,
And lorded over them whom they now ſerve:
But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt,
And by their vices brought to ſervitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty,
Bondage with eaſe than ſtrenuous liberty;
And to deſpiſe, or envy, or ſuſpect
Whom God hath of his ſpecial favour rais'd
As their deliverer? if he aught begin,

Ver. 268. *But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt*, &c.] Here Mr. Thyer has anticipated me, by obſerving that Milton is very uniform, as well as juſt, in his notions of liberty, always attributing the loſs of it to vice and corruption of morals: but in this paſſage he very probably intended alſo a ſecret ſatire upon the Engliſh nation, which, according to his republican politicks, had, by reſtoring the king, choſen *bondage with eaſe* rather than *ſtrenuous liberty*. And let me add, that the ſentiment is very like that of Æmilius Lepidus the conſul in his oration to the Roman people againſt Sulla, preſerved among the fragments of Salluſt—"Annuite legibus impoſitis; accipite otium cum ſervitio;"—but for myſelf—"potior viſa eſt periculoſa libertas quieto ſervitio." NEWTON.

Ver. 274. ——————— *if he aught begin,*
How frequent to deſert him, &c.] Is there any alluſion here to the laſt ineffectual efforts of the republican

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How frequent to desert him, and at last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds?
Chor. Thy words to my remembrance bring
How Succoth and the fort of Penuel
Their great deliverer contemn'd,
The matchless Gideon, in pursuit
Of Madian and her vanquish'd kings:
And how ingrateful Ephraim
Had dealt with Jephtha, who by argument,
Not worse than by his shield and spear,
Defended Israel from the Ammonite,
Had not his prowess quell'd their pride
In that sore battle, when so many died
Without reprieve, adjudg'd to death,

General Lambert against Monk and the Restoration, when he was deserted by the people, and at last taken prisoner by his old partizan Ingoldsby? DUNSTER.

Ver. 278. *How Succoth and the fort of Penuel* &c.] The men of Succoth, and of the tower of Penuel, refused to give loaves of bread to Gideon and his three hundred men pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian. See *Judg.* viii. 4—9. NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *And how ingrateful Ephraim* &c.] Jephthah subdued the children of Ammon; and he is said to have *defended Israel by argument not worse than by arms* on account of the message which he sent unto the king of the children of Ammon. *Judg.* xi. 15—27. For his victory over the Ammonites the Ephraimites envied and quarrelled with him; and threatened to burn his house with fire: but Jephthah and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, and took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites, and there slew those of them who could not rightly pronounce the word *Shibboleth*; and there fell at that time two and forty thousand of them. See *Judg.* xii. 1—6. NEWTON.

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For want of well pronouncing Shibboleth.
Samſ. Of ſuch examples add me to the roll;
Me eaſily indeed mine may neglect,
But God's propos'd deliverance not ſo.
Chor. Juſt are the ways of God,
And juſtifiable to Men;
Unleſs there be, who think not God at all:
If any be, they walk obſcure;
For of ſuch doctrine never was there ſchool,
But the heart of the fool,
And no man therein doctor but himſelf.
Yet more there be, who doubt his ways not juſt,
As to his own edicts found contradicting,
Then give the reins to wandering thought,
Regardleſs of his glory's diminution;
Till, by their own perplexities involv'd,
They ravel more, ſtill leſs reſolv'd,
But never find ſelf-ſatisfying ſolution.

Ver. 298. *But the heart of the fool,*] Alluding to *Pſal.* xiv. 1. And the ſentiment is not very unlike that of a celebrated divine. "*The fool hath ſaid in his heart, There is no God:* and who but a fool would have ſaid ſo?" NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *And no man therein doctor but himſelf.*] There is ſomething rather too quaint and fanciful in this conceit, and it appears the worſe, as this ſpeech of the Chorus is of ſo ſerious a nature, and filled with ſo many deep and ſolemn truths. THYER.

Ver. 308. ——— *his glory's* diminution;] This expreſſion is ſtrong, as anciently underſtood. Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 39. "*Majeſtatem* pop. Rom. *minuere*" is the ſame as "crimen læſæ majeſtatis." And Corn. Nepos, *Ages.* iv. "Religionem *minuere*" is "violare." RICHARDSON.

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As if they would confine the Interminable,
And tie him to his own preſcript,
Who made our laws to bind us, not himſelf,
And hath full right to exempt
Whom ſo it pleaſes him by choice
From national obſtriction, without taint
Of ſin, or legal debt;
For with his own laws he can beſt diſpenſe.
He would not elſe, who never wanted means,
Nor in reſpect of the enemy juſt cauſe,
To ſet his people free,
Have prompted this heroick Nazarite,
Againſt his vow of ſtricteſt purity,
To ſeek in marriage that fallacious bride,
Unclean, unchaſte.
Down, reaſon, then; at leaſt vain reaſonings, down;
Though reaſon here aver,
That moral verdict quits her of unclean:

Ver. 307. ——— *the* Interminable,] Him, whom *no bound or limit* can confine; a word finely expreſſing the immenſity of God. Chaucer uſes it for *boundleſs*: "Eternite then is perfite poſſeſſion and all together of life *interminable*." Boeth. lib. v. proſ. vi. TODD.

Ver. 319. ——— *vow of ſtricteſt purity*,] Not a vow of celibacy, but of ſtricteſt purity from Moſaical and legal uncleanneſs. WARBURTON.

Ver. 324. *That moral verdict quits her of unclean:*] That is, By the law of nature a Philiſtine woman was not unclean, yet the law of Moſes held her to be ſo. I don't know why the poet thought fit to make his hero ſcepticize on a point, as irreconcileable to reaſon, which may be very well accounted for by

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Unchaſte was ſubſequent, her ſtain not his.
But ſee here comes thy reverend Sire
With careful ſtep, locks white as down,
Old Manoah: Adviſe
Forthwith how thou ought'ſt to receive him.
Samſ. Ay me! another inward grief, awak'd
With mention of that name, renews the aſſault.

[Enter] *Manoah.*

Man. Brethren and men of Dan, for ſuch ye ſeem,

the beſt rules of human prudence and policy. The inſtitution of Moſes was to keep the Jewiſh people diſtinct and ſeparate from the nations. This the lawgiver effected by a vaſt variety of means: one of which was to hold all other nations under a legal impurity; the beſt means of preventing intermarriages with them.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 326. ——————— *reverend Sire*] An expreſſion, repeated, ver. 1456; uſed alſo in *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 719; and brought from his *Lycidas:*

"Next Camus, *reverend ſire*, went footing ſlow."

Thus alſo Cowley, *Davideis*, B. III. of the high prieſt:

"Much more the *reverend ſire* prepar'd to ſay."

Pope, in his firſt *Moral Eſſay*, and Parnell, in his *Hermit*, have made uſe of this expreſſion; which (it may be added) is of older poetical authority than that of Milton. Thus, in *A Courtlie Controuerſie of Cupid's Cautels*, 4to. 1578. p. 16.

"The *reuerend* aged *ſires*
"Obeye theſe lawleſſe mates, &c." TODD.

Ver. 330. *Ay me! another inward grief, awak'd*
With mention of that name, renews the aſſault.] So Philoctetes, in the play of that name by Sophocles, to the Chorus, v. 1185.

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Though in this uncouth place; if old reſpect,
As I ſuppoſe, towards your once gloried friend,
My ſon, now captive, hither hath inform'd
Your younger feet, while mine caſt back with age
Came lagging after; ſay if he be here.

Chor. As ſignal now in low dejected ſtate,
As erſt in higheſt, behold him where he lies.

Man. O miſerable change! is this the man,
That invincible Samſon, far renown'd,
The dread of Iſrael's foes, who with a ſtrength

Πάλιν πάλιν ταλαιὸν
Ἄλγημ' ὑπέμιναϛας μὲ
Ὥλωϛε τῶν πρὶν ἱππόπων.

Ver. 333. *Though in this* uncouth place;] So Browne, as Mr. Dunſter alſo notices, *Britann. Paſtorals*, B. i. S. 3. ed. 1616. "An *uncouth place* fit for an uncouth mind." See alſo my note on *L'Allegro*, ver. 5. TODD.

Ver. 336. ——— *while mine caſt back with age*] This is very artfully and properly introduced, to account for the Chorus coming to Samſon before Manoah; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that any of his friends ſhould be more concerned for his welfare, or more deſirous to viſit him than his father. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *O miſerable change!* &c.] This ſpeech of Manoah's is, in my opinion, very beautiful in its kind. The thoughts are exactly ſuch as one may ſuppoſe would occur to the mind of the old man, and are expreſſed with an earneſtneſs and impatience very well ſuited to that anguiſh of mind he muſt be in, at the ſight of his ſon under ſuch miſerable afflicted circumſtances. It is not at all unbecoming the pious grave character of Manoah, to repreſent him, as Milton does, even complaining and murmuring at this diſpoſition of Heaven, in the firſt bitterneſs of his ſoul. Such ſudden ſtarts of infirmity are aſcribed to ſome of the greateſt perſonages in Scripture, and it is agreeable to that well known maxim, that religion may regulate, but can never eradicate, natural paſſions and affections. THYER.

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Equivalent to Angels walk'd their ſtreets,
None offering fight; who ſingle combatant
Duell'd their armies rank'd in proud array,
Himſelf an army, now unequal match
To ſave himſelf againſt a coward arm'd
At one ſpear's length. O ever-failing truſt
In mortal ſtrength! and oh! what not in man
Deceivable and vain? Nay, what thing good
Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane?
I pray'd for children, and thought barrenneſs
In wedlock a reproach; I gain'd a ſon,

Ver. 345. *Duell'd*] I have ſeen it aſſerted that the verb *duel* is of Milton's coinage. But it is of older authority. See Ritſon's *Eng. Metr. Romances*, vol. iii. p. 297.

" With the king of France *duelled* he."

I may add that it was in uſe in Milton's own time, before this tragedy was printed. Thus in Baron's *Cyprian Academy*, 8vo. 1648, p. 23. " We come not hither to debate, but to combate; not to cavill, but to *duel*, &c." And in J. Boden's *Alarme beat up in Sion*, &c. 4to. 1644, p. 13. " Not that I would encourage any man to *duell* it, in his owne avengement, or for his private honour, &c." TODD.

Ver. 352. *I pray'd for children, and thought barrenneſs*
In wedlock a reproach;] Some lines from a fragment of Euripides may be introduced here. They are very beautiful, and not impertinent. See edit. Barnes, p. 443.

Γύναι, φίλον μὲν φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε.
Καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦμ' ἰδεῖν ἀνήνεμον,
Γῆν τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα, πολύσιον δ' ὕδωρ
Πολλῶν τ' ἴφαινον ἐς μοι λέξαι καλῶν.
Ἀλλ' ὧδ' ἔτω λαμπρὸν, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλὸν,
Ὡς τοῖς ἄπαισι, καὶ πόθῳ διδηγμένοις,
Παίδων πόσῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος. CALTON.

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And ſuch a ſon as all men hail'd me happy;—
Who would be now a father in my ſtead? 355
O wherefore did God grant me my requeſt,
And as a bleſſing with ſuch pomp adorn'd?
Why are his gifts deſirable, to tempt
Our earneſt prayers, then, given with ſolemn hand
As graces, draw a ſcorpion's tail behind? 360

Ver. 354. *And ſuch a ſon as* &c.] It is very hard that the editors of Milton have never taken the pains to correct the errours of the firſt edition, which he had himſelf corrected. This verſe at firſt was printed imperfect, and it has been followed in all the editions,

" Such a ſon as all men hail'd me happy."

And was wanting in the beginning,

" *And* ſuch a ſon &c.

So Milton himſelf corrected it, and ſo Mr. Jortin and Mr. Sympſon conjectured it ſhould be read. And, at the time of writing this, in all probability the author remembered the happy father in Terence, *Andria* i. i. 69.

" Cùm id mihi placebat, tum uno ore omnes omnia
" Bona dicere, et laudare fortunas meas,
" Qui gnatum haberem tali ingenio præditum."

NEWTON.

Tonſon's edition of 1747 had rectified the miſtake, of which Dr. Newton afterwards complains. TODD.

Ver. 359. ——— *then, given with ſolemn hand*
As graces, draw a ſcorpion's tail behind?] He has raiſed this beautiful imagery on the following text, *Luke* xi. 12. " If a ſon ſhall aſk of his father an egg, will he *offer him a ſcorpion?*" He was not always ſo happy. WARBURTON.

He has been peculiarly happy in the uſe of this imagery. Thus again, " A moſt deadly and *ſcorpion-like gift*," Proſe-W. vol. i. p. 304. ed. 1698. Again, in his *Tetrachordon:* " It is man's perverſe cooking who hath turned this *bounty* of God *into a ſcorpion.*" Ibid. p. 335. TODD.

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For this did the Angel twice descend? for this
Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a plant
Select, and sacred, glorious for a while,
The miracle of men; then in an hour
Ensnar'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound,
Thy foes' derision, captive, poor, and blind,
Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves?
Alas! methinks whom God hath chosen once
To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall
Subject him to so foul indignities,
Be it but for honour's sake of former deeds.

Sams. Appoint not heavenly disposition, Father;

Ver. 362. ——— *as of a plant*] This is a frequent scriptural metaphor. See *Isaiah* v. 7, liii. 2. Homer describes Thetis thus speaking of her son Achilles, *Il.* xviii. 57.

——— ὁ δ' ἀριδρομὲυ ἠΰτε ἴσος,
Τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα ΦΥΤΟΝ ὡς, γουνῷ ἀλωῆς.

Theocritus also speaks in similar language of Hercules, *Idyll.* xxiv. 101. DUNSTER.

Ver. 365. *Ensnar'd, assaulted,* &c.] The succession of participles renders the description more pathetick, as in ver 563.

" Now blind, *dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonour'd, quell'd.*"

An example of similar effect occurs in the poet's description of the fallen angels, after their defeat, *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 851.

———" of their wonted vigour—*drain'd,*
" *Exhausted,* spiritless, *afflicted, fallen.*" TODD.

Ver. 373. Appoint] That is, *arraign, summon to answer.* WARBURTON.

Perhaps *limit*, or *direct*: or rather, according to an old acceptation of the word, *blame, lay the fault upon.* See Barret's Alvearie, 1580. *Appoynt*, col. 2. No. 497. TODD.

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Nothing of all theſe evils hath befallen me
But juſtly; I myſelf have brought them on,
Sole author I, ſole cauſe: If aught ſeem vile,
As vile hath been my folly, who have profan'd
The myſtery of God given me under pledge
Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,
A Canaanite, my faithleſs enemy.
This well I knew, nor was at all ſurpris'd,
But warn'd by oft experience: Did not ſhe
Of Timna firſt betray me, and reveal
The ſecret wreſted from me in her highth
Of nuptial love profeſs'd, carrying it ſtraight
To them who had corrupted her, my ſpies,
And rivals? In this other was there found
More faith, who alſo in her prime of love,
Spouſal embraces, vitiated with gold,
Though offer'd only, by the ſcent conceiv'd
Her ſpurious firſt-born, treaſon againſt me?
Thrice ſhe aſſay'd with flattering prayers and ſighs,
And amorous reproaches, to win from me
My capital ſecret, in what part my ſtrength

Ver. 391. ——— *treaſon againſt me?*] By our laws called petty treaſon. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 392. *Thrice ſhe aſſay'd* &c.] So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 619.
" Thrice he aſſay'd &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 394. *My* capital *ſecret*,] I am afraid this is an intended pun; if ſo, it is a moſt indefenſible expreſſion; and yet reſembling what is ſaid, *Par. L.* B. xii. 383.

" Needs muſt the ſerpent now his *capital* bruiſe
" Expect with pain:"

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Lay ſtor'd, in what part ſumm'd, that ſhe might
know;
Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to ſport
Her importunity, each time perceiving
How openly, and with what impudence
She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worſe
Than undiſſembled hate) with what contempt
She ſought to make me traitor to myſelf;
Yet the fourth time, when, muſtering all her
wiles,
With blandiſh'd parlies, feminine aſſaults,
Tongue-batteries, ſhe ſurceas'd not, day nor night,

where the reference certainly is to the "ſeed of the woman bruiſing the *head* of the ſerpent." DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. *She* fought] So it is in Milton's own edition; in moſt of the others "She *thought*. NEWTON.

Ver. 402. ——————— *muſtering all her wiles,*] So, in his *Proſe-Works*, vol. i. edit. Amſt. 1698. p. 196. "Like a *crafty* adultreſs, ſhe forgot not all her *ſmooth looks, and enticing words.*" Joſephus relates, that the attacks of Dalila were artfully made παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν. TODD.

Ver. 403. *With* blandiſh'd *parlies,*] Dr. Johnſon ſays he never met with this word before. It is common in our old writers. Thus in Chaucer, *Boethius* lib. ii. proſ. prim. "For thou wert wont to hurtelen and diſpiſen her with many words, whan ſhe was *blandiſhying* and preſent &c." Again, in Lewis's *Hiſt. of Tranſlations of the Bible*, p. 13. "In this pſalme he ſpekith of Criſt and his follewris *blandiſhying* to us." So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xiii. p. 220. edit. 1622. "And how ſhe, *blandiſhing*, by Dunſmore drives along." TODD.

Ver. 404. *Tongue-batteries*, &c.] The phraſe was probably ſuggeſted by Shakſpeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. i. A. iii. S. iii.

"I am *vanquiſh'd*; theſe haughty *words of hers*
"Have *batter'd* me like roaring cannon-ſhot, &c."

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To ſtorm me over-watch'd, and wearied out,
At times when men ſeek moſt repoſe and reſt,
I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,
Who, with a grain of manhood well reſolv'd,
Might eaſily have ſhook off all her ſnares:
But foul effeminacy held me yok'd
Her bond-ſlave; O indignity, O blot
To honour and religion! ſervile mind
Rewarded well with ſervile puniſhment!
The baſe degree to which I now am fallen,
Theſe rags, this grinding is not yet ſo baſe
As was my former ſervitude, ignoble,
Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,

That this paſſage was in the poet's mind, may be further proved, I think, from ver. 235.

" Who, *vanquiſh'd* with a peal of *words*,
" Gave up my *fort*."

Compare alſo the following paſſage in an old drama, entitled *The Hiſtory of the tryall of Cheualry*, &c. ſ. d. 4to. Printed by Simon Stafford:

——————————————— " cares —
" Pearſt with the *volley* of thy *battring words*."

The ſcriptural account is this. " And it came to paſs, when *ſhe preſſed him daily with her words*, and urged him ſo that his ſoul was vexed unto death, that *he told her all his heart*," Judg. xvi. 16, 17. TODD.

Ver. 411. ——————— *O indignity, O blot* &c.] Nothing could give the reader a better idea of a great and heroick ſpirit in the circumſtances of Samſon, than this ſudden guſt of indignation and paſſionate ſelf-reproach upon the mentioning of his weakneſs. Beſides, there is ſomething vaſtly grand and noble in his reflection upon his preſent condition on this occaſion,

" Theſe rags, this grinding is not yet ſo baſe &c."

THYER.

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True ſlavery, and that blindneſs worſe than this,
That ſaw not how degenerately I ſerv'd.
Man. I cannot praiſe thy marriage-choices, Son,
Rather approv'd them not; but thou didſt plead
Divine impulſion prompting how thou might'ſt
Find ſome occaſion to infeſt our foes.
I ſtate not that; this I am ſure, our foes
Found ſoon occaſion thereby to make thee
Their captive, and their triumph; thou the ſooner
Temptation found'ſt, or over-potent charms,
To violate the ſacred truſt of ſilence
Depoſited within thee; which to have kept
Tacit, was in thy power: true; and thou bear'ſt
Enough, and more, the burden of that fault;
Bitterly haſt thou paid, and ſtill art paying,
That rigid ſcore. A worſe thing yet remains;
This day the Philiſtines a popular feaſt
Here celebrate in Gaza; and proclaim
Great pomp, and ſacrifice, and praiſes loud,
To Dagon, as their God who hath deliver'd
Thee, Samſon, bound and blind into their hands,
Them out of thine, who ſlew'ſt them many a ſlain.

Ver. 434. *This day the Philiſtines a popular feaſt &c.*] *Judges* xvi. 23. "Then the lords of the Philiſtines gathered them together, for to offer a great ſacrifice unto Dagon their God, and to rejoice; for they ſaid, *Our God hath delivered Samſon our enemy into our hand*, &c." This incident the poet has finely improved, and with great judgement he has put this reproach of Samſon into the mouth of his father, rather than any other of the dramatis perſonæ. NEWTON.

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So Dagon ſhall be magnified, and God,
Beſides whom is no God, compar'd with idols,
Diſglorified, blaſphem'd, and had in ſcorn
By the idolatrous rout amidſt their wine;
Which to have come to paſs by means of thee,
Samſon, of all thy ſufferings think the heavieſt,
Of all reproach the moſt with ſhame that ever
Could have befallen thee and thy father's houſe.

Samſ. Father, I do acknowledge and confeſs
That I this honour, I this pomp, have brought
To Dagon, and advanc'd his praiſes high
Among the Heathen round; to God have brought
Diſhonour, obloquy, and op'd the mouths
Of idoliſts, and atheiſts; have brought ſcandal
To Iſrael, diffidence of God, and doubt
In feeble hearts, propenſe enough before
To waver, or fall off and join with idols;
Which is my chief affliction, ſhame and ſorrow,

Ver. 442. *Diſglorified,*] That is, deprived of glory. So, in his *Areopagitica*, Milton uſes *diſexerciſing* for *depriving of exerciſe*; "by *diſexerciſing* and blunting our abilities in what we know already:" And, in the ſame tract, *diſinured* for *deprived of practice*; "Thus much we are hindered and *diſinured*, by this courſe of licencing, toward the true knowledge of what we ſeem to know." Milton is fond of words thus compounded. We have *diſallied*, in this drama, ver. 1022; *diſeſpouſed*, Par. L. B. ix. 17; *diſconſenting*, Of Prelat. Epiſcopacy; *diſgoſpelling*, Apol. for Smectymnuus; *diſworſhip*, Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce; *diſalleige*, Obſerv. on the Art. of Peace between the E. of Ormond and the Iriſh. TODD.

Ver. 453. — *idoliſts,*] Milton uſes the adjective *idoliſh*, in his *Reaſon of Ch. Gov.* B. 2. Concluſion. "Their *idoliſh* temples." And the ſubſtantive *idoliſm*, Par. Reg. B. iv. 234. TODD.

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The anguiſh of my ſoul, that ſuffers not
Mine eye to harbour ſleep, or thoughts to reſt.
This only hope relieves me, that the ſtrife
With me hath end; all the contéſt is now
'Twixt God and Dagon; Dagon hath preſum'd,
Me overthrown, to enter liſts with God,
His deity comparing and preferring
Before the God of Abraham. He, be ſure,
Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,
But will ariſe, and his great name aſſert:
Dagon muſt ſtoop, and ſhall ere long receive
Such a diſcomfit, as ſhall quite deſpoil him
Of all theſe boaſted trophies won on me,
And with confuſion blank his worſhippers.

Man. With cauſe this hope relieves thee, and theſe words
I as a prophecy receive; for God,
Nothing more certain, will not long defer
To vindicate the glory of his Name

Ver. 471. ——————— blank *his worſhippers.*] That is, *confound.* So, in *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. ii.

" Each oppoſite that *blanks* the face of joy."

Milton often uſes the adjective *blank* alſo in the ſenſe of *confounded.* TODD.

Ver. 472. ——————— *and theſe words*
I as a prophecy receive;] This method of one perſon's taking an omen from the words of another, was frequently practiſed among the ancients; and in theſe words the downfall of Dagon's worſhippers is artfully preſignified, as the death of Samſon is in other places; but Manoah, as it was natural, accepts the good omen, without thinking of the evil that is to follow. NEWTON.

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Againſt all competition, nor will long
Endure it doubtful whether God be Lord,
Or Dagon. But for thee what ſhall be done?
Thou muſt not, in the mean while here forgot,
Lie in this miſerable loathſome plight,
Neglected. I already have made way
To ſome Philiſtian lords, with whom to treat
About thy ranſom: well they may by this
Have ſatisfied their utmoſt of revenge
By pains and ſlaveries, worſe than death, inflicted
On thee, who now no more canſt do them harm.
Samſ. Spare that propoſal, Father; ſpare the trouble
Of that ſolicitation; let me here,
As I deſerve, pay on my puniſhment;
And expiate, if poſſible, my crime,
Shameful garrulity. To have reveal'd
Secrets of men, the ſecrets of a friend,
How heinous had the fact been, how deſerving
Contempt, and ſcorn of all, to be excluded
All friendſhip, and avoided as a blab,
The mark of fool ſet on his front? But I

Ver. 496. *The mark of fool ſet on his front?*
But I God's counſel have not kept, his holy ſecret] So it is in almoſt all the editions. Mr. Warton believes the Alexandrine verſe was not left ſo by the author, and therefore reads, with Hawkey's Dublin edition of 1752,

"*The mark of fool ſet on his front? But I*
"*God's counſel have not kept, his holy ſecret*
"Preſumptuouſly have publiſhed, &c."

There was alſo an inſtance in *Paradiſe Loſt* of a needleſs Alexandrine, and of the deficiency of a foot in the preceding verſe, which Tickell firſt rectified, B. x. 989. TODD.

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God's counſel have not kept, his holy ſecret
Preſumptuouſly have publiſh'd, impiouſly,
Weakly at leaſt, and ſhamefully; a ſin
That Gentiles in their parables condemn
To their abyſs and horrid pains confin'd.
Man. Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite;
But act not in thy own affliction, Son:
Repent the ſin; but, if the puniſhment

Ver. 500. *That Gentiles in their parables condemn* &c.] Alluding to the ſtory of Tantalus, who for revealing the ſecrets of the Gods was condemned to pains in Hell. Cicero *Tuſc. Diſp.* iv. 16. " Poetæ impendere apud inferos ſaxum Tantalo faciunt ob ſcelera, animique impotentiam, et ſuperbiloquentiam." Euripides aſſigns the ſame puniſhment, and for the ſame reaſon, *Oreſtes*, v. 8.

——— ὅτι θεοῖς ἄνθρωπ@· ὢν
Κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,
Ἀχάλαστον ἴσχε γλῶσσαν, αἰσχίστην νόσον.

Mr. Warburton's remark is that " the ancient myſtagogues taught, that the Gods puniſhed both the revealers, and the violators, of their myſteries. Milton had here in his eye that fine paſſage of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 617.

——— " ſedet, æternúmque ſedebit
" Infelix Theſeus, Phlegyáſque miſerrimus omnes
" Admonet, &c." NEWTON.

The paſſage, cited by doctor Newton from the Tuſculan Queſtions, does not explain the ſtory of Tantalus as here referred to. Neither does the paſſage from Euripides, without its gloſs from the Scholiaſt; where indeed it is ſaid that Tantalus was puniſhed for revealing the myſteries of the gods, ἐξιπων τοις βροτοις τα θειων απορρητα, τουτο γαρ ἐστι το Ακολαστον ισχε γλωσσαν. But the claſſical authority in Milton's mind I ſuppoſe to have been that of Ovid, who expreſsly aſcribes the puniſhment of Tantalus to his ſhameful garrulity, which is ſaid to be a grievous crime, *De Art. Amandi*, ii. 601, &c. DUNSTER.

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Thou canſt avoid, ſelf-preſervation bids;
Or the execution leave to high diſpoſal,
And let another hand, not thine, exact
Thy penal forfeit from thyſelf: perhaps
God will relent, and quit thee all his debt;
Who ever more approves, and more accepts,
(Beſt pleas'd with humble and filial ſubmiſſion,)
Him, who, imploring mercy, ſues for life,
Than who, ſelf-rigorous, chooſes death as due;
Which argues over-juſt, and ſelf-diſpleas'd
For ſelf-offence, more than for God offended.
Reject not then what offer'd means, who knows
But God hath ſet before us, to return thee
Home to thy country and his ſacred houſe,
Where thou mayſt bring thy offerings, to avert
His further ire, with prayers and vows renew'd.

Samſ. His pardon I implore; but as for life,
To what end ſhould I ſeek it? when in ſtrength
All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes
With youthful courage, and magnanimous thoughts
Of birth from Heaven foretold, and high exploits,
Full of divine inſtinct, after ſome proof
Of acts indeed heroick, far beyond

Ver. 516. *Reject not then* what *offer'd means,*] That is, *thoſe* means *which* who knows but God hath ſet before us: *what* for *thoſe which*. The expreſſion is a little hard, but to this effect: "Reject not theſe means of ranſom, which, for any thing one can tell, God may have ſet before us, or ſuggeſted to us, in order to return thee &c." HURD.

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The ſons of Anak, famous now and blaz'd,
Fearleſs of danger, like a petty God
I walk'd about admir'd of all and dreaded
On hoſtile ground, none daring my affront.
Then ſwollen with pride into the ſnare I fell
Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
Soften'd with pleaſure and voluptuous life;
At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge
Of all my ſtrength in the laſcivious lap
Of a deceitful concubine, who ſhore me
Like a tame wether, all my precious fleece,
Then turn'd me out ridiculous, deſpoil'd,
Shaven, and diſarm'd among mine enemies.

Chor. Deſire of wine and all delicious drinks,
Which many a famous warriour overturns,

Ver. 532. ——————— *into the* ſnare *I fell*
Of fair fallacious looks, *venereal* trains,] See Fairfax's tranſlation of Taſſo, B. iv. 26. where Hedroart, ſending Armida to ſeduce the Chriſtian hoſt, and, if poſſible, its leader, bids her

" Frame *ſnares* of *looks*, *trains* of alluring ſpeech."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 535. *At length to* lay my head *and hallow'd pledge*
Of all my ſtrength in the laſcivious lap
Of a deceitful concubine,] Compare Spenſer, *Faerie Queene*, ii. vi. 14.

" Thus when ſhee had his eyes and ſences fed
" *With falſe delights*, and fill'd with pleaſures vayn,
" Into a ſhady vale ſhe ſoft him led,
" And layd him downe upon a graſſy playn;—
" She ſett beſide, *laying his head diſarm'd*
" *In her looſe lap*." TODD.

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Thou couldſt repreſs; nor did the dancing ruby
Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavour, or the ſmell,
Or taſte that cheers the heart of Gods and Men,
Allure thee from the cool cryſtalline ſtream. 546

Samſ. Wherever fountain or freſh current flow'd
Againſt the eaſtern ray, tranſlucent, pure

Ver. 543. ——————— *the dancing ruby* &c.] Dr. Newton and Mr. Thyer remark, that the poet probably alludes to *Prov.* xxiii. 31. "Look not thou upon the *wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup, when it moveth itſelf aright.*" Milton has alſo "*rubied* nectar," *Par. Loſt*, B. v. 633. And *dancing* he has transferred hither from his *Comus*, v. 673.

"And firſt, behold this cordial julep here,
"That flames and *dances* in his cryſtal bounds." TODD.

Ver. 545. *Or taſte that* cheers *the heart of* Gods and Men,] *Judges*, ix. 13. "Wine which *cheereth God and Man.*" Milton ſays *Gods*, which is a juſt paraphraſe, meaning the hero-gods of the Heathen. Jotham is here ſpeaking to an idolatrous city, that *ran a whoring after Baalim and made Baal-berith their God*: A god ſprung from among men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from diverſe other circumſtances of the ſtory. Heſiod, in a ſimilar expreſſion, ſays that *the vengeance of the Fates purſued the crimes of* Gods and Men, *Theog.* v. 220.

Αἶτ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, κ. τ. λ. WARBURTON.

"Gods *and* Men" is the reading of Milton's own edition, and more agreeable to the text of Scripture than in the common editions "Gods *or* Men." NEWTON.

The edition of 1747 follows Milton's own edition. TODD.

Ver. 547. *Wherever fountain or freſh current flow'd*
Againſt the eaſtern ray, &c.] This circumſtance was very probably ſuggeſted to our author by the following lines of Taſſo's poem *del Mondo creato*, Giorna iii. ſt. 8.

"O liquidi criſtalli, onde s'eſtingua
"L'ardente ſete a miſeri mortali:

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With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying
Thirſt, and refreſh'd: nor envied them the grape
Whoſe heads that turbulent liquour fills with fumes.
Chor. O madneſs, to think uſe of ſtrongeſt wines
And ſtrongeſt drinks our chief ſupport of health,
When God with theſe forbidd'n made choice to rear
His mighty champion, ſtrong above compare,

" Ma piu ſalubre è, ſe tra viue pietre
" Rompendo l' argentate, e fredde corna,
" Incontra il nuouo ſol, che il puro argento
" Co' raggi indora"—— THYER.

Mr. Geddes, in his learned and entertaining *Eſſay on the Compoſition &c. of Plato*, conſiders theſe lines of Milton as poſſeſſing much of the ſame ſpirit, though applied to another thing, with a paſſage in the philoſopher's *Ia*, p. 533, 534, tom. i. edit. Serran. where, ſpeaking of the poets, he ſays " As ſoon as they enter the winding mazes of harmony, they become lymphatic, and rove like the furious Bacchanals, who in their phrenzy *draw honey and milk out of the rivers*. The Poets tell us the ſame thing of themſelves &c." *Eſſay*, 1748, p. 184. TODD.

Ver. 549. *With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,*] This deſcription of the firſt ray of light at the moment of ſun-riſe, is eminently bold and beautiful. We might trace it to Euripides, *Suppl.* 652.

Λαμπρα μεν ακτις ηλιου καινων σαφης
Εβαλλε γαιαν —

to which Dr. Hurd refers Milton's " long-levell'd rule of ſtreaming light," *Com.* ver. 340. The *fiery rod* is perhaps more immediately the λαμπρα μεν ακτις ηλιου καινων σαφης, where καινων is *rod*, (*virga*,) as well as *rule*. DUNSTER.

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Whoſe drink was only from the liquid brook.
Samſ. But what avail'd this temperance, not complete
Againſt another object more enticing?
What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at another to let in the foe,
Effeminately vanquiſh'd? by which means,
Now blind, diſheart'n'd, ſham'd, diſhonour'd, quell'd,
To what can I be uſeful, wherein ſerve
My nation, and the work from Heaven impos'd,
But to ſit idle on the houſhold hearth,
A burdenous drone; to viſitants a gaze,
Or pitied object, theſe redundant locks
Robuſtious to no purpoſe cluſtering down,
Vain monument of ſtrength; till length of years
And ſedentary numneſs craze my limbs

Ver. 557. *Whoſe drink* &c.] Samſon was a Nazarite. *Judges*, xiii. 7; therefore to drink no wine, nor ſhave his head. See *Numb.* vi. *Amos*, ii. 12. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 566. *But to ſit idle on the houſhold hearth*, &c.] It is ſuppoſed, with probability enough, that Milton choſe Samſon for his ſubject, becauſe he was fellow-ſufferer with him in the loſs of his eyes; however one may venture to ſay, that the ſimilitude of their circumſtances has enriched the poem with ſeveral very pathetick deſcriptions of the miſery of blindneſs. THYER.

Ver. 569. *Robuſtious*] An old word ſignifying *violent* or *forcible*, as in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627, c. v. ſt. 85.

"Caſt from my ſeat in ſome *robuſtious* courſe." TODD.

Ver. 571. ——craze *my limbs*] He uſes the word *craze* much in the ſame manner as in the *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 210. Where ſee the note. NEWTON.

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To a contemptible old age obſcure?
Here rather let me drudge, and earn my bread;
Till vermin, or the draff of ſervile food,
Conſume me, and oft-invocated death
Haſten the welcome end of all my pains.

Man. Wilt thou then ſerve the Philiſtines with that gift
Which was expreſsly given thee to annoy them?
Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,
Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age outworn.
But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
From the dry ground to ſpring, thy thirſt to allay
After the brunt of battle, can as eaſy
Cauſe light again within thy eyes to ſpring,
Wherewith to ſerve him better than thou haſt;

Ver. 574. ——— draff] The *refuſe*. See *Par. L.* B. x. 630. Thus Chaucer, *Prol. to the Parſones Tale.*

" Why ſhould I ſowen *draf* out of my fiſt,
" When I may ſowen whete, if that me liſte?"

And Shakſpeare, 1. *Hen.* IV. A. iv. S. 2. " You would think I had a hundred and fifty tatter'd prodigals, lately come from ſwine-keeping, from eating *draff* and huſks." DUNSTER.

Ver. 575. ——— *oft*-invocated *death*] Some editions read " oft-*invoked* death;" which deſtroys the metre. TODD.

Ver. 581. *But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer*
From the dry ground to ſpring, &c.] See *Judges* xv. 18, 19. But Milton differs from our tranſlation of the Bible. The tranſlation ſays, that *God clave an hollow place that was in the jaw:* Milton ſays, that *God caus'd a fountain from the dry ground to ſpring*, and herein he follows the Chaldee paraphraſt and the beſt commentators, who underſtand it that God made a cleft in ſome part of the ground or rock, in the place called Lehi; *Lehi* ſignifying both a jaw, and a place ſo called. NEWTON.

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And I perſuade me ſo; why elſe this ſtrength
Miraculous yet remaining in thoſe locks?
His might continues in thee not for nought,
Nor ſhall his wonderous gifts be fruſtrate thus.
Samſ. All otherwiſe to me my thoughts portend,
That theſe dark orbs no more ſhall treat with light,
Nor the other light of life continue long,
But yield to double darkneſs nigh at hand:
So much I feel my genial ſpirits droop,
My hopes all flat, Nature within me ſeems
In all her functions weary of herſelf;
My race of glory run, and race of ſhame,
And I ſhall ſhortly be with them that reſt.
Man. Believe not theſe ſuggeſtions, which proceed
From anguiſh of the mind and humours black,

Ver. 588. *His might continues* &c.] A fine preparative, which raiſes our expectation of ſome great event to be produced by his ſtrength. WARBURTON.

Ver. 594. *So much I feel my genial ſpirits droop,* &c.] Here Milton, in the perſon of Samſon, deſcribes exactly his own caſe, what he felt, and what he thought, in ſome of his melancholy hours. He could not have written ſo well but from his own feeling and experience; and the very flow of the verſes is melancholy, and excellently adapted to the ſubject. As Mr. Thyer expreſſes it, there is a remarkable ſolemnity, and air of melancholy, in the very ſound of theſe verſes; and the reader will find it very difficult to pronounce them without that grave and ſerious tone of voice which is proper for the occaſion.

NEWTON.

Ver. 600. ——————— *and humours black,*
That mingle with thy fancy.] This very juſt notion

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That mingle with thy fancy. I however
Muſt not omit a father's timely care

of the mind or fancy's being affected, and as it were tainted with the vitiated humours of the body, Milton had before adopted in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, where he introduces Satan in the ſhape of a toad at the ear of Eve, B. iv. 804.

" Or if, inſpiring venom, he might taint
" The animal *ſpirits* &c."

So again in *Comus*, v. 809.

——————— " 'tis but the *lees*
" And *ſettlings* of a *melancholy blood*." THYER.

In all theſe notions Milton has followed the authority of others; for, in the paſſage cited from *Par. Loſt*, he might allude to Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 189, where the Tempter is deſcribed " troubling Eve's *ſpirit*," and where it is obſerved alſo,

" The euill Angels ſlide too eaſily,
" As ſubtile ſpirits, *into our fantaſie*."

In the paſſage from *Comus*, the ſame book might have ſuggeſted the expreſſions, ed. ſupr. p. 21.

——————— " the *maſs of blood*
" The Sanguine Aire commands: the clutted mud,
" Sunk down in *lees*, Earth's *melancholy* ſhowes."

Or Shakſpeare, *K. John*, A. iii. S. v.

" Or if that ſurly ſpirit, *melancholy*,
" Had bak'd thy *blood*, and *made it heavy-thick*."

Here perhaps he was guided by Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy*: " Galen imputeth all to the cold that is *black*; and thinks, that, the *ſpirits being darkened*, and the ſubſtance of the braine cloudy and darke, all the obje&s thereof appear terrible, and the *mind itſelfe*, by thoſe darke, obſcure, groſſe fumes, *aſcending from black humors*, is in continual darkneſſe, fear, and ſorrow; divers terrible monſtrous *fictions* in a thouſand ſhapes and apparitions occurre, *with violent paſſions*, by which the *braine* and *phantaſy* are troubled and eclipſed." Edit. Oxon. 1624, p. 178. TODD.

Ver. 601. ——————— *I however*
Muſt not omit &c.] Such is alſo the language of

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To profecute the means of thy deliverance
By ranſom, or how elſe: mean while be calm,
And healing words from theſe thy friends admit.
[*Exit.*]

Samſ. O that Torment ſhould not be confin'd
To the body's wounds and ſores,
With maladies innumerable
In heart, head, breaſt, and reins;
But muſt ſecret paſſage find
To the inmoſt mind,
There exerciſe all his fierce accidents,
And on her pureſt ſpirits prey,
As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
With anſwerable pains, but more intenſe,
Though void of corporal ſenſe.
My griefs not only pain me
As a lingering diſeaſe,

Oceanus to his nephew Prometheus, Æſchyl. *Prom. Vinct.*

Και νυν εγω ειμι, και παιρασομαι,
Εαν δυνωμαι, τοιδι σ' ικλυσαι πονων.
Συ δ' ησυχαζε. DUNSTER.

Ver. 605. *And* healing words] So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 290.

" To whom with *healing words* Adam replied."

The phraſe is from Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 478.

Εισιν δ' ιατδαι και ΛΟΓΟΙ ΘΕΛΚΤΗΡΙΟΙ. TODD.

Ver. 606. *O that Torment ſhould not be confin'd* &c.] Milton, no doubt, was apprehenſive that this long deſcription of Samſon's grief and miſery might grow tedious to the reader, and therefore here with great judgement varies both his manner of expreſſing it, and the verſification. Theſe ſudden ſtarts of impatience are very natural to perſons in ſuch circumſtances, and this rough and unequal meaſure of the verſes is very well ſuited to it. THYER.

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But, finding no redreſs, ferment and rage;
Nor leſs than wounds immedicable
Rankle, and feſter, and gangrene,
To black mortification.
Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly ſtings,
Mangle my apprehenſive tendereſt parts,

Ver. 620. ——— *wounds immedicable*] Ovid. *Met.* x. 189. "Erat immedicabile vulnus." Whence alſo in Taſſo's *Aminta Engliſht*, 1628, A. ii. S. i.

"So deadly and *immedicable wounds*." TODD.

Ver. 623. *Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly ſtings, Mangle* &c.] This deſcriptive imagery is fine and well purſued. The idea is taken from the effects of poiſonous ſalts in the ſtomach and bowels, which ſtimulate, tear, inflame, and exulcerate the tender fibres, and end in a mortification, which he calls *death's benumming opium*, as in that ſtage the pain is over. WARBURTON.

This imagery may have been adopted in imitation of Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 39. or rather, *F. Q.* vi. vi. 5.

"One day, as he was ſearching of their *wounds*,
"He found that they had *feſtred* privily;
"And, *ranckling* inward with unruly ſtounds,
"The *inner parts now gan to putrify*,
"That quite they ſeem'd *paſt helpe of ſurgery*;
"And rather needed to be diſciplinde
"With holeſome reade of ſad ſobriety,
"To rule the ſtubborne rage of paſſion blinde:
"Give ſalves to every ſore, but counſell to the minde."

The moral ſentence, at the concluſion of this ſtanza, illuſtrates alſo ver. 184. of this drama. Compare alſo the lamentation of Jo in the *Prometheus* of Æſchylus, v. 884. ed. Schütz.

Ὑπὸ μ' αὖ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπλήγεῖς
Μανίαι θάλπουσ', οἴ̓στρου δ' ἄῤῥιζ
Χρίει μ' ἄπυρος,
Καρδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει.

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Exaſperate, exulcerate, and raiſe 625
Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb
Or med'cinal liquour can aſſwage,

" *Mangled* mind," I muſt obſerve, is a phraſe in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352.

" My *mangled minde* huge horrours ſtill do fright."

After all, Milton might have had an eye to the impaſſioned exclamation of *Macbeth*, A. v. S. iii.

" Canſt thou not miniſter to a *mind diſeas'd*;
" Pluck from the memory a *rooted ſorrow*; &c."

Compare alſo Milton's *Proſe-Works*, where he ſpeaks of " a ſmooth and eaſy leſſon, which, received, hath the virtue to ſoften and diſpel *rooted* and knotty *ſorrows*," vol. i. ed. 1698. p. 281. TODD.

Ver. 627. *Or* med'cinal *liquour*] Here *medicinal* is pronounced with the accent upon the laſt ſyllable but one, as in Latin; which is more muſical than as we commonly pronounce it *medicinal* with the accent upon the laſt ſyllable but two, or *med'cinal* as Milton has uſed it in *Comus*. The ſame muſical pronunciation occurs in Shakſpeare, *Othello*, A. v. S. x.

" Drop tears as faſt as the Arabian trees
" Their *medicinal* gum." NEWTON.

Medicinal is not the reading of Milton's own edition: In that it is *medcinal*. The ſuppoſed emendation of *medicinal* is made in the folio of 1688, and it has been ſince invariably followed. But Milton intended the word to be *medcinal*, and to be pronounced haſtily, as in *Comus*, v. 636.

" And yet more *mĕdcĭnăl* is it than that Moly;"

for it muſt be obſerved that the verſe here conſiſts of *only four feet*, correſponding with the alternate verſes, to the end of the paragraph.—Mr. Steevens, in a note on the paſſage of *Othello*, cited by doctor Newton, obſerves that *medicinal* occurs in the works of two of our greateſt poets, Milton and Dryden. I apprehend, not in the poetry of Milton. I even find, that in his own editions of his Proſe-Works, Milton repeatedly ſpells the word, as in the text, *medcinal*. TODD.

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Nor breath of vernal air from ſnowy Alp.
Sleep hath forſook and given me o'er
To death's benumming opium as my only cure:
Thence faintings, ſwoonings of deſpair,
And ſenſe of Heaven's deſertion.
I was his nurſling once, and choice delight,
His deſtin'd from the womb,
Promis'd by heavenly meſſage twice deſcending.
Under his ſpecial eye
Abſtemious I grew up, and thriv'd amain;
He led me on to mightieſt deeds,

Ver. 628. *Nor* breath *of* vernal air] So, in that moſt delightful paſſage in *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 264.

——— " airs, *vernal airs*,
" *Breathing* the ſmell of field and grove." TODD.

Ibid. ——— *from ſnowy* Alp.] He uſes *Alp* for mountain in general, as in *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 620. *Alp*, in the ſtrict etymology of the word, ſignifies a mountain white with ſnow. We have indeed appropriated the name to the high mountains which ſeparate Italy from France and Germany; but any high mountain may be ſo called, and ſo Sidonius Apollinaris calls mount Athos, ſpeaking of Xerxes cutting through it, *Carm.* ii. 510. NEWTON.

Milton took this uſe of the word from the Italian poets, amongſt whom it is very common. HURD.

Ver. 633. *I was his nurſling once*, &c.] This part of Samſon's ſpeech is little more than a repetition of what he had ſaid before, v. 23.

" O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
" Twice by an Angel &c."

But yet it cannot juſtly be imputed as a fault to our author. Grief, though eloquent, is not tied to forms; and is beſides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to, and repeat, its ſource and ſubject. THYER.

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Above the nerve of mortal arm,
Againſt the uncircumcis'd, our enemies:
But now hath caſt me off as never known,
And to thoſe cruel enemies,
Whom I by his appointment had provok'd,
Left me all helpleſs with the irreparable loſs
Of ſight, reſerv'd alive to be repeated
The ſubject of their cruelty or ſcorn.
Nor am I in the liſt of them that hope;
Hopeleſs are all my evils, all remedileſs:
This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
No long petition, ſpeedy death,
The cloſe of all my miſeries, and the balm.

Chor. Many are the ſayings of the wiſe,
In ancient and in modern books inroll'd,
Extolling patience as the trueſt fortitude;
And to the bearing well of all calamities,
All chances incident to man's frail life,
Conſolatories writ
With ſtudied argument, and much perſuaſion
ſought

Ver. 654. ——— *patience as the trueſt fortitude;*] So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 31. "the better fortitude of patience." TODD.

Ver. 656. *All chances incident to man's frail life*, &c.] There is a full ſtop at the end of this line in all the editions, but there ſhould be only a comma, as the ſenſe evinces, the conſtruction being *And conſolatories writ with* &c. *to the bearing well* &c. Milton himſelf corrected it in the firſt edition; but when an errour is once made, it is ſure to be perpetuated through all the editions. NEWTON.

Ver. 658. ——— *and much perſuaſion* ſought] I ſuppoſe an errour of the preſs for *fraught*. WARBURTON.

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Lenient of grief and anxious thought:
But with the afflicted in his pangs their ſound
Little prevails, or rather ſeems a tune
Harſh, and of diſſonant mood from his com-
plaint;
Unleſs he feel within
Some ſource of conſolation from above,
Secret refreſhings, that repair his ſtrength,
And fainting ſpirits uphold.
God of our fathers, what is man!

I conceive the conſtruction to be, Conſolatories *are* writ with ſtudied argument, and much perſuaſion *is ſought* &c. NEWTON.

But *ſought* may mean *collected ſtudiouſly* or *with pains*; or, it may be uſed in the ſenſe of *recherché* in French, *curious, refined, far-fetched.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 659. *Lenient of grief*] Expreſſed from what we quoted before from Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 34.

" Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc *lenire dolorem*
" Poſſis." — NEWTON.

Ver. 660. *But* with *the afflicted*] Here was another errour pepetuated through all the editions, " But *to* the afflicted." Milton himſelf corrected it. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. ——— *or rather ſeems a tune*
Harſh, and of diſſonant mood &c.] Alluding to *Eccluſ.* xxii. 6. " A tale out of ſeaſon is as muſick in mourning." THYER.

See alſo the *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, ed. 1610, p. 708.

" The ſage inſtructions of the wiſe man's mouth,
" Do *ſound harſh muſike* in the eares of youth." TODD.

Ver. 667. *God of our fathers, what is man!* &c.] This, and the following paragraph, to ver. 705. ſeem to be an imitation of the Chorus in Seneca's *Hippolytus*, where the immature and undeſerved fate of that young hero is lamented, A. iv. 971.

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That thou towards him with hand ſo various,
Or might I ſay contrarious,
Temper'ſt thy providence through his ſhort courſe,
Not evenly, as thou rul'ſt
The angelick orders, and inferiour creatures mute,
Irrational and brute.
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That wandering looſe about
Grow up and periſh, as the ſummer-fly,
Heads without name no more remember'd;
But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd,
To ſome great work, thy glory,
And people's ſafety, which in part they effect:

——— " ſed cur idem,
" Qui tanta regis, ſub quo vaſti
" Pondera mundi librata ſuos
" Ducunt orbes, hominum nimium
" Securus ades; non ſollicitus
" Prodeſſe bonis, nocuiſſe malis?"
&c. to the end. THYER.

Ver. 669. *Or might I ſay* contrarious,] *Adverſe.* So, in *the Weakeſt goeth to the Wall*, 1600. " Like a *contrarious* tempeſt." And in Chaucer's *Leg. of Dido*, v. 435. edit. Urr.

" Sens that the goddes ben *contrarious* to me." TODD.

Ver. 676. ——— *as the* ſummer-fly,] So, in Shakſpeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. ii. S. vi.

" The common people ſwarm *like ſummer-flies.*" TODD.

Ver. 677. *Heads* without name *no more remember'd*;] Milton here probably had in view the Greek term for this lower claſs of mortals. They ſtyle them *ἀνάριθμοι* or *ἀναρίθμητοι*, *men not numbered*, or *not worth the numbering*. THYER.

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Yet toward theſe thus dignified, thou oft,
Amidſt their highth of noon,
Changeſt thy countenance, and thy hand, with no regard
Of higheſt favours paſt
From thee on them, or them to thee of ſervice.
Nor only doſt degrade them, or remit
To life obſcur'd, which were a fair diſmiſſion,
But throw'ſt them lower than thou didſt exalt them high;
Unſeemly falls in human eye,
Too grievous for the treſpaſs or omiſſion;
Oft leav'ſt them to the hoſtile ſword
Of Heathen and profane, their carcaſſes

Ver. 682. *Yet toward theſe thus dignified, thou oft,*
Amidſt their highth of noon,
Changeſt thy countenance,] There is a fine paſſage in the Fragments of Euripides, which Milton perhaps now remembered. See *Incert. Trag. Eurip.* v. 12. edit. Barnes.

Πολλοῖς ὁ Δαίμων, ᾧ κατ' ἴυνοιαν φέρων,
Μεγάλα δίδωσιν ἐυτυχήματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα
Τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐμφανίστερας. TODD.

Ver. 683. *Amidſt their* highth of noon,] This forcible expreſſion is applied in the ſame manner by Sandys, in his *Paraphraſe upon Job*, ed. 1648, p. 34.

"When men are from *their noon of glory* thrown."

Again, in his *Paraphraſe upon the Pſalms*, ed. ſupr. p. 124.

"Thou haſt on ſlippery *heights* their greatneſſe plac'd;
"Down headlong from *their noon of glory* caſt." TODD.

Ver. 693. ——— *their carcaſſes*
To dogs and fowls a prey,] Plainly alluding to Homer, *Il.* i. 4.

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To dogs and fowls a prey, or elſe captiv'd; 694
Or to the unjuſt tribunals, under change of times,

—— αὐτὰς δὲ ἱλάρια τεύχεα κύνεσσιν,
Οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι. NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *Or to the unjuſt tribunals, under change of times,* &c.] Here, no doubt, Milton reflected upon the trials and ſufferings of his party after the Reſtoration; and probably he might have in mind particularly the caſe of Sir Harry Vane, whom he has ſo highly celebrated in one of his Sonnets.

If theſe they 'ſcape, perhaps in poverty &c.; this was his own caſe; he eſcaped with life, but lived in poverty, and though he was always very ſober and temperate, yet he was much afflicted with the gout and other *painful diſeaſes, in crude old age, cruda ſenectus,* when he was not yet a very old man:

" Though not diſordinate, yet cauſeleſs ſuffering
" The puniſhment of diſſolute days."

Some time after I had written this, I had the pleaſure to find that I had fallen into the ſame vein of thinking with Mr. Warburton: but he has opened and purſued it much further, with a penetration and livelineſs of fancy peculiar to himſelf.

" *God of our fathers,*" to ver. 704, is a bold expoſtulation with Providence for the ill ſucceſs of the *good old cauſe.*

" But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly elected,
" With *gifts and graces* eminently adorn'd
" To ſome great work thy glory."

In theſe three lines are deſcribed the characters of the Heads of the Independent Enthuſiaſts: " which *in part* they effect:" that is, by the overthrow of the monarchy, without being able to raiſe their projected republick.

" Yet toward theſe thus dignified, thou oft,
" Amidſt their highth of noon,
" Changeſt thy countenance—"

After Richard had laid down, all power came into the hands of the enthuſiaſtick Independent Republicans, when a ſudden revolution, by the return of Charles II. broke all their meaſures.

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And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude.
If theſe they 'ſcape, perhaps in poverty
With ſickneſs and diſeaſe thou bow'ſt them down,
Painful diſeaſes and deform'd,
In crude old age;

——— " with no regard
" Of higheſt favours paſt
" *From thee on them*, or *them to thee of ſervice.*"

That is, without any regard of thoſe favours ſhown by thee to them in their wonderful ſucceſſes againſt tyranny and ſuperſtition, [Church and State,] or of thoſe ſervices they paid to thee in declaring for religion and liberty, [Independency and a Republick.]

" Nor only doſt degrade &c.
" Too grievous for the *treſpaſs* or *omiſſion*;"

By the *treſpaſs* of theſe precious ſaints Milton means the quarrels among themſelves: and by the *omiſſion*, the not making a clear ſtage in the conſtitution, and new-modelling the *law*, as well as national religion, as Ludlow adviſed.

" *Captiv'd*:" Several were condemn'd to perpetual impriſonment, as Lambert and Martin.

" Or to the *unjuſt tribunals* under change of times &c."

The trials and condemnation of Vane and the Regicides. The concluding verſes deſcribe his own caſe,

" If theſe they 'ſcape, perhaps in *poverty* —
" *Painful diſeaſes and deform'd* —
" Though not diſordinate, yet cauſeleſs ſuffering
" *The puniſhment of diſſolute days*:"

His loſſes in the Excife, and his gout not cauſed by intemperance. But Milton was the moſt heated enthuſiaſt of his time; ſpeaking of Charles the firſt's murder in his Defence of the people of England he ſays—" Quanquam ego hæc divino potius inſtinctu geſta eſſe crediderim, quoties memoria repeto, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 700. *In* crude *old age;*] *Crude* old age in Virgil, and in others writers, is *ſtrong* and *robuſt*,—" cruda Deo viridíſque

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Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
The punishment of dissolute days: in fine,
Just, or unjust, alike seem miserable,
For oft alike both come to evil end.
So deal not with this once thy glorious champion,
The image of thy strength, and mighty minister.
What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already!
Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn

senectus." But Milton uses here *crude* for *premature* and *coming before its time*, as "*cruda* funera" in Statius: Old age brought on by poverty and by sickness, as Hesiod says, Εργ. v. 93.

Αἶψα γὰς ἰν παυότητι βροτοὶ καταγηράσκουσι. JORTIN.

Dr. Jortin might have added, that Hesiod has the expression, *crude old age*, in the same sense as Milton here. Εργ. v. 703.

——————— ἡτ' ανδρα και ιφθιμον ποιῆ' ἐοῦσα
Ενει ατιρ δαλυ, και ΩΜΩ ΓΗΡΑΙ δωκεν.

And so has Homer, *Odyss.* xv. 356. DUNSTER.

Ver. 704. *For oft alike both come to evil end.*] This may seem a strange sentiment to come from the Chorus; but was proper to console Samson, who suffered chiefly from those *thoughts, his tormenters*, which represented his calamity as a decisive mark of his superiour guilt, and of Heaven's resentment. Hence those *swoonings of despair, and sense of Heaven's desertion*, for which there was no cause, if the *just* might sometimes thus suffer. This condescension, is of the character of the Chorus: "Ille bonis *faveat* & consilietur *amice!*" We are not to consider the sentiment simply in itself, but as adapted to present circumstances. The purpose of the Chorus was not to calumniate Providence, but to soothe the unhappy sufferer. Besides, the general moral of the piece, enforced by the Chorus itself at the end; "*All is best, though we oft doubt*, &c." rectifies all, and counteracts any ill impression from this carnal sentiment. HURD.

Ver. 708. *Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn*
His labours, for thou canst, to peaceful end.] The

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His labours, for thou canſt, to peaceful end.—
But who is this, what thing of ſea or land? 710
Female of ſex it ſeems,
That ſo bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,
Comes this way ſailing
Like a ſtately ſhip

concluding verſes of this beautiful Chorus appear to me particularly affecting, from the perſuaſion that Milton, in compoſing them, addreſſed the two laſt immediately to Heaven, as a prayer for himſelf. If the conjecture of this application be juſt, we may add, that never was the prevalence of a righteous prayer more happily conſpicuous; and let me here remark, that however various the opinions of men may be concerning the merits or demerits of Milton's political character, the integrity of his heart appears to have ſecured to him the favour of Providence; ſince it pleaſed the Giver of all good not only to turn his labours to a peaceful end, but to irradiate his declining life with the moſt abundant portion of thoſe pure and ſublime mental powers, for which he had conſtantly and fervently prayed, as the choiceſt bounty of Heaven. HAYLEY.

Ver. 712. *That ſo bedeck'd,* ornate, *and gay,*] In his *Tractate on Education,* he has "a graceful and *ornate* Rhetorick." This word occurs in Caxton's Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos,* 1490; "Not in rude and old language, but in polyſhed and *ornate* terms." See alſo *Ancient Scotiſh Poems,* edit. 1786. vol. i. p. 63. "Quhen endit had hir *ornat* ſpeche this eloquent wedo." TODD.

Ver. 714. *Like a ſtately ſhip* &c.] The thought of comparing a woman to a ſhip, is not entirely new. Plautus has it in his *Pœnulus,* I. II. i.

"Negotii ſibi qui volet vim parare,
"Navem et mulierem, hæc duo comparato, &c."

Mr. Warburton, in a note on the *Merry W. of Windſor,* A. iii. S. viii, ſpeaking of *the ſhip-tire,* ſays "it was an open head-dreſs, with a kind of ſcarf depending from behind. Its name of *ſhip-tire* was, I preſume, from its giving the wearer ſome re-

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Of Tarſus, bound for the iſles 715
Of Javan or Gadire
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails fill'd, and ſtreamers waving,

ſemblance of *a ſhip*, as Shakſpeare ſays, *in all her trim;* with all her pennants out, and flags and ſtreamers flying. Thus Milton paints Dalila. This was an image familiar with the poets of that time. Thus, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money:* She ſpreads ſattens as the king's *ſhips do canvas.*" NEWTON.

Thus it is ſaid in Barnabe Rych's *Roome for a Gentleman*, &c. 4to. 1609. " When a lady is out of the new faſhion, ſhe is *like a ſhippe that is out of trim;* ſhee will neur ſteare well." fol. 30. a. And compare Parrot's *Springes for Woodcocks*, 12mo. 1613. Epigr. 89. Lib. 1.

" When Miſtris Win did firſt her waſtcoat weare,
" She ſcarcely could that cariage then maintaine,
" But now *on ſloat* her ſelfe aloft doth beare,
" *With flags and top-ſailes* launching forth amaine."

TODD.

Ver. 715. *Of Tarſus,*] There is frequent mention in Scripture of the *ſhips of Tarſhiſh*, which Milton, as well as ſome commentators, might conceive to be the ſame as *Tarſus*, in Cilicia: *bound for the iſles of Javan*, that is, Greece; for *Javan* or Ion, the fourth ſon of Japhet, is ſaid to have peopled Greece and Ionia, *or Gadire*, Γαδείρα, Gades, Cadiz. NEWTON.

Ver. 717. *With all her* bravery *on, and tackle trim,*
Sails fill'd, &c.] Gray has alſo drawn a beautiful compariſon of a ſhip *in gallant trim*, in his *Bard*, v. 71, &c. I beg leave to introduce to the reader's notice a ſimilar deſcription, of remarkable elegance, in Giles Fletcher's *Chriſt's Victorie*, B. ii. ſt. 35.

" Like as a ſhip, in which no ballance lies,
" Without a pilot, on the ſleeping waves,
" Fairly along with winde and water flies,
" And painted maſts with ſilken ſails *embraves*,
" That Neptune's ſelf the bragging veſſel ſaves,

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Courted by all the winds that hold them play,
An amber ſcent of odorous perfume
Her harbinger, a damſel train behind;
Some rich Philiſtian matron ſhe may ſeem;
And now at nearer view, no other certain
Than Dalila thy Wife.

Samſ. My Wife! my Traitreſs: let her not come near me.

Chor. Yet on ſhe moves, now ſtands and eyes thee fix'd,

" To laugh awhile at her ſo proud array;
" Her waving ſtreamers looſely ſhe lets play,
" And flagging colours ſhine as bright as ſmiling day."

Where *embraves* is *decorates*, as *bravery* in the text is *finery* or *ornament*; in which ſenſe the word is commonly uſed by our old poets. TODD.

Ver. 719. *Courted by all the winds*] This preciſe expreſſion is applied to Eve in the *Adamo* of Pona, p. 41. " Seruita dall' aure, *corteggiata da' venti* &c." TODD.

Ver. 720. *An* amber *ſcent* &c.] A favourite perfume with the Ladies, in the ſeventeenth century. Thus in Jonſon's *Neptune's triumph*, Proteus thus addreſſes the Ladies,

" Why doe you ſmell of *Amber-gris*?"

And in Herrick's addreſs *To his Miſtreſſes*, 1648, p. 18.

" Put on your ſilks; and piece by piece
" Give them the *ſcent* of *Amber-greece*."

And even with the beaus of the times, as in Sylveſter's *Du Bart*. 1621, p. 311.

" Soft carpet-knights all *ſenting* muſk and *amber*." TODD.

Ver. 726. *Yet on ſhe moves*, &c.] Like Iſmene in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 532.

Καὶ μὴν πρὸ αὐλῶν ἥδ' Ισμήνη
Φιλάδελφα κάτω δάκρυ' εἰβομένη.

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About to have ſpoke; but now, with head declin'd,
Like a fair flower ſurcharg'd with dew, ſhe weeps,
And words addreſs'd ſeem into tears diſſolv'd,
Wetting the borders of her ſilken veil:
But now again ſhe makes addreſs to ſpeak.

Νιφέλη δ' ὑφρύων ὑπιε, αἱματόεν
Ῥίθος αἰσχύνει,
Τέγξασ' ἐὐῶπα παρειὰν.

Mr. Jortin and Mr. Thyer both concurred in the ſame obſervation, and therefore it is more likely to be true. NEWTON.

Ver. 727. ——— *but now, with head declin'd,*
Like a fair flower &c.] Probably from Homer, *Il.* viii. 306.

Μήκων δ' ὡς, ἐτίρωσι κάρη βάλεν, ἥτ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ
Καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίῃσί τε εἰαριῇσιν.

Dryden, in his *Aureng-zebe*, has almoſt literally copied Milton,

" Your *head declin'd*, as hiding grief from view,
" *Droops, like a roſe ſurcharg'd with morning-dew.*"

Phineas Fletcher is fond of this claſſical alluſion. See his *Purp. Iſland*, c. xi. ſt. 30, and particularly ſt. 38.

" So have I often ſeen a purple *flower*,
" Fainting through heat, *hang down her drooping head*, &c."

Carew has alſo a ſimilar compariſon:

" As lillies, *overcharg'd with rain*, they bend
" Their beauteous heads, &c." TODD.

Ver. 729. *And words addreſs'd* &c.] This verſe is printed imperfect in moſt of the editions,

" And words addreſs'd ſeem tears diſſolv'd."

that being wanted which is in the firſt edition,

" And words addreſs'd ſeem *into* tears diſſolv'd."

Mr. Jortin conjectured it ſhould be ſo read, without ſeeing the firſt edition. NEWTON.

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[Enter] *Dalila.*

Dal. With doubtful feet and wavering reſolution
I came, ſtill dreading thy diſpleaſure, Samſon,
Which to have merited, without excuſe,
I cannot but acknowledge; yet, if tears
May expiate, (though the fact more evil drew
In the perverſe event than I foreſaw,)
My penance hath not ſlacken'd, though my pardon
No way aſſur'd. But conjugal affection,
Prevailing over fear and timorous doubt,
Hath led me on, deſirous to behold
Once more thy face, and know of thy eſtate,
If aught in my ability may ſerve
To lighten what thou ſuffer'ſt, and appeaſe
Thy mind with what amends is in my power,
Though late, yet in ſome part to recompenſe
My raſh, but more unfortunate, miſdeed.

Samſ. Out, out, Hyæna! theſe are thy wonted arts,

Ver. 732. *With doubtful feet* &c.] The ſcene between Samſon and Dalila is drawn up with great judgement, and particular beauty. One cannot conceive a more artful, ſoft, and perſuaſive, eloquence than that which is put into the mouth of Dalila; nor is the part of Samſon leſs to be admired for that ſtern and reſolute firmneſs which runs through it. What alſo gives both parts a great additional beauty is their forming ſo fine a contraſt to each other. THYER.

Ver. 748. *Out, out, Hyæna!*] The hyæna is a creature ſomewhat like a wolf, and is ſaid to imitate a human voice ſo artfully as to draw people to it, and then devour them. So Solinus, the tranſcriber of Pliny, cap. 27. "Multa de ea mira:

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And arts of every woman falſe like thee,
To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray,
Then as repentant to ſubmit, beſeech,
And reconcilement move with feign'd remorſe,
Confeſs, and promiſe wonders in her change;
Not truly penitent, but chief to try
Her huſband, how far urg'd his patience bears,
His virtue or weakneſs which way to aſſail:
Then with more cautious and inſtructed ſkill
Again tranſgreſſes, and again ſubmits;

primum, quod ſequitur ſtabula paſtòrum, et auditu aſſiduo addiſcit vocamen, quod exprimere poſſit *imitatione vocis humanæ*, ut in hominem aſtu accitum nocte ſæviat." A celebrated tragick writer makes uſe of the ſame compariſon, *Orphan*, A. ii.

" Tis thus the falſe hyæna makes her moan,
" To draw the pitying traveller to her den;
" Your ſex are ſo, ſuch falſe diſſemblers all, &c."

Milton applies it to a woman, but Otway to the men; which with the greater juſtice let the criticks and the ladies determine.
NEWTON.

An old dramatick writer has in different places of his play entitled *The Cobler's Prophecie*, 1594, compared *both* ſexes to the hyæna. I find another reflection of this kind in Greene's *Never too late*, 1616, pt. 2d. " She weepes with the crocodile, and ſmiles with the *hiena*, and flatters with the panther." But Milton ſeems to have had in mind B. Jonſon's *Fox*, A. iv. S. vi.

" Out, thou chameleon harlot! now thine eyes
" Vie tears with the *hyæna*." TODD.

Ver. 748. ——— *theſe are thy wonted arts*,] From Ovid:

" Credidimus lacrymis, an et hæ ſimulare docentur?
" Hæ quoque habent artes, quáque jubentur eunt."

Ver. 750. Almoſt the whole of the paragraph is cloſely copied, or imitated, by Dryden in his *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i. TODD.

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That wiſeſt and beſt men, full oft beguil'd,
With goodneſs principled not to reject
The penitent, but ever to forgive,
Are drawn to wear out miſerable days,
Entangled with a poiſonous boſom ſnake,
If not by quick deſtruction ſoon cut off,
As I by thee, to ages an example.

Dal. Yet hear me, Samſon; not that I endeavour
To leſſen or extenuate my offence,
But that on the other ſide, if it be weigh'd
By itſelf, with aggravations not ſurcharg'd,
Or elſe with juſt allowance counterpois'd,
I may, if poſſible, thy pardon find
The eaſier towards me, or thy hatred leſs.
Firſt granting, as I do, it was a weakneſs
In me, but incident to all our ſex,

Ver. 759. *That wiſeſt and beſt men, full oft beguil'd,*
With goodneſs &c.] Milton had reaſon to lament that exceſs of indulgence, with which he forgave and received again his diſobedient and long-alienated wife; ſince their reunion not only diſquieted his days, but gave birth to daughters, who ſeem to have inherited the perverſity of their mother. Theſe pathetick lines ſtrike me as a forcible alluſion to his own connubial infelicity. HAYLEY.

Ver. 762. *Are drawn to wear out miſerable days,——*
If not by quick deſtruction ſoon cut off,] He makes the ſame reflection, in his *Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce*, on "two perſons *ill embarkt in wedlock*. What folly is it to ſtand combating and battering againſt invincible cauſes and effects, with evil upon evil, *till* either *the beſt of our days be lingered out*, or *ended with ſome ſpeeding ſorrow*." B. i. 10. TODD.

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Curioſity, inquiſitive, impórtune
Of ſecrets, then with like infirmity
To publiſh them, both common female faults:
Was it not weakneſs alſo to make known
For importunity, that is for nought,
Wherein conſiſted all thy ſtrength and ſafety?
To what I did thou ſhow'd'ſt me firſt the way.
But I to enemies reveal'd, and ſhould not:
Nor ſhould'ſt thou have truſted that to woman's frailty:
Ere I to thee, thou to thyſelf waſt cruel.
Let weakneſs then with weakneſs come to parle,
So near related, or the ſame of kind,
Thine forgive mine; that men may cenſure thine
The gentler, if ſeverely thou exact not
More ſtrength from me, than in thyſelf was found.
And what if love, which thou interpret'ſt hate,
The jealouſy of love, powerful of ſway
In human hearts, nor leſs in mind towards thee,
Caus'd what I did? I ſaw thee mutable
Of fancy, fear'd leſt one day thou would'ſt leave me

Ver. 785. ——————— *come to* parle,] In *Par. Loſt*, B. vi. 296, *parle* is *talk*; here it is *treaty* or *reconciliation*, as in Shakſpeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, A. i. S. i. "Though the nature of our quarrel never yet brook'd *parle*, know now, upon advice, it touched us both, &c." So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 529. "By *parle* or compoſition." *Parle* is ſaid to have been one of the affected words introduced into our language by Lyly. See Stevens's Shakſpeare, edit. 1793, vol. 15, p. 10. Milton alſo uſes it as a verb, *Hiſt. of Eng.* B. vi. "Knute, finding himſelf too *weak*, began to *parle*," that is, to *treat*. TODD.

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As her at Timna, ſought by all means therefore
How to endear, and hold thee to me firmeſt:
No better way I ſaw than by impórtuning
To learn thy ſecrets, get into my power
Thy key of ſtrength and ſafety: thou wilt ſay,
Why then reveal'd?. I was aſſur'd by thoſe
Who tempted me, that nothing was deſign'd
Againſt thee but ſafe cuſtody, and hold:
That made for me; I knew that liberty
Would draw thee forth to perilous enterpriſes,
While I at home ſat full of cares and fears,
Wailing thy abſence in my widow'd bed;
Here I ſhould ſtill enjoy thee, day and night,
Mine and love's priſoner, not the Philiſtines',
Whole to myſelf, unhazarded abroad,
Fearleſs at home of partners in my love.
Theſe reaſons in love's law have paſt for good,
Though fond and reaſonleſs to ſome perhaps;
And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,
Yet always pity or pardon hath obtain'd.
Be not unlike all others, not auſtere
As thou art ſtrong, inflexible as ſteel.

Ver. 808. *Mine and love's priſoner,*] Theſe few words expreſs the ſubſtance of Juliet's beautiful ſpeech to Romeo:

" 'Tis almoſt morning, I would have thee gone;
" And yet no further than a wanton's bird;
" Who lets it hop a little from her hand,
" Like a poor *priſoner* in his twiſted gyves,
" And with a ſilk thread plucks it back again,
" *So loving-jealous of his liberty.*" TODD.

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If thou in ſtrength all mortals doſt exceed,
In uncompaſſionate anger do not ſo.
Samſ. How cunningly the ſorcereſs diſplays
Her own tranſgreſſions, to upbraid me mine!
That malice, not repentance, brought thee hither,
By this appears; I gave, thou ſay'ſt, the example,
I led the way; bitter reproach, but true;
I to myſelf was falſe ere thou to me;
Such pardon therefore as I give my folly,
Take to thy wicked deed; which when thou ſeeſt
Impartial, ſelf-ſevere, inexorable,
Thou wilt renounce thy ſeeking, and much rather
Confeſs it feign'd: Weakneſs is thy excuſe,
And I believe it; weakneſs to reſiſt
Philiſtian gold: If weakneſs may excuſe,
What murderer, what traitor, parricide,
Inceſtuous, ſacrilegious, but may plead it?
All wickedneſs is weakneſs: that plea therefore
With God or Man will gain thee no remiſſion.
But love conſtrain'd thee; call it furious rage
To ſatisfy thy luſt: love ſeeks to have love;
My love how could'ſt thou hope, who took'ſt the way
To raiſe in me inexpiable hate,
Knowing, as needs I muſt, by thee betray'd?

Ver. 825. *Such pardon therefore as I give my folly*
Take to thy wicked deed; &c.] Theſe ſentiments of ſelf-condemnation are expreſſed with wonderful dignity. They reflect all the noble and reſolute virtue of the poet's own highly-principled mind. DUNSTER.

Ver. 840. *Knowing, as needs I muſt, by thee betray'd?*] The ſame manner of ſpeaking, as in *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 792.

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In vain thou ſtriv'ſt to cover ſhame with ſhame,
Or by evaſions thy crime uncover'ſt more.
Dal. Since thou determin'ſt weakneſs for no plea
In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,
Hear what aſſaults I had, what ſnares beſides,
What ſieges girt me round, ere I conſented;
Which might have aw'd the beſt-reſolv'd of men,
The conſtanteſt, to have yielded without blame.
It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'ſt,
That wrought with me: Thou know'ſt the magiſtrates
And princes of my country came in perſon,
Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,
Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty
And of religion, preſs'd how juſt it was,

" And knew not eating death."
Where ſee Mr. Richardſon's note. NEWTON.

Ver. 842. *Or* &c.] This is the reading of the old editions, and particularly of Milton's own: the later ones have "*For* by evaſions," which is not ſo plain and intelligible. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ——————— *Thou know'ſt the magiſtrates* &c.] Judges xvi. 5. "*And the Lords of the Philiſtines came up unto her, and ſaid* &c." So exact is Milton in all the particulars of the ſtory, and improves every incident. NEWTON.

Compare the account, related by Salluſt, of Cicero, who ſecured the harlot Fulvia to his intereſt; and through her means gained, by the force of promiſes, his intelligence of Catiline's machinations, from Q. Curius, who was engaged in the conſpiracy, and with whom Fulvia was criminally connected: "A principio conſulatûs ſui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo, effecerat, ut Q. Curius [cui cum Fulvia ſtupri vetus conſuetudo] conſilia Catilinæ ſibi proderet." TODD.

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How honourable, how glorious, to entrap
A common enemy, who had deſtroy'd
Such numbers of our nation: and the prieſt
Was not behind, but ever at my ear,
Preaching how meritorious with the Gods
It would be to enſnare an irreligious
Diſhonourer of Dagon: what had I
To oppoſe againſt ſuch powerful arguments?
Only my love of thee held long debate,
And combated in ſilence all theſe reaſons
With hard contéſt: at length that grounded maxim,
So rife and celebrated in the mouths
Of wiſeſt men, that to the publick good
Private reſpects muſt yield, with grave authority
Took full poſſeſſion of me, and prevail'd;
Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, ſo enjoining.

Samſ. I thought where all thy circling wiles would end;
In feign'd religion, ſmooth hypocriſy!
But had thy love, ſtill odiouſly pretended,

Ver. 857. ——— *and the prieſt*
Was not behind, &c.] The character of the prieſt, which makes a conſpicuous figure here, is the poet's own addition to the ſcriptural account. It is obviouſly a ſatire on the miniſters of the church. DUNSTER.

Ver. 864. ——— *all* theſe *reaſons*] We follow the reading of Milton's own edition, and not of the others "all *their* reaſons." NEWTON.

The folio of 1688 reads "*theſe* reaſons." TODD.

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Been, as it ought, ſincere, it would have taught thee
Far other reaſonings, brought forth other deeds.
I, before all the daughters of my tribe
And of my nation, choſe thee from among
My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'ſt;
Too well; unboſom'd all my ſecrets to thee,
Not out of levity, but over-power'd
By thy requeſt, who could deny thee nothing;
Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then
Did'ſt thou at firſt receive me for thy huſband,
Then, as ſince then, thy country's foe profeſs'd?
Being once a wife, for me thou waſt to leave
Parents and country; nor was I their ſubject,
Nor under their protection but my own,
Thou mine, not theirs: If aught againſt my life

Ver. 878. ——— *lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'ſt;*] There is an inconſiſtency here with what Samſon had ſaid before. Here he profeſſes a violent affection for Dalila, as the ſole motive of his marrying her; whereas he had before aſſerted that he was in a certain degree determined to it by hopes of finding occaſion thereby to oppreſs the Philiſtines, ver. 234. Manoah likewiſe ſays, that Samſon pleaded "divine compulſion" for both his marriages, ver. 422. But Milton may be underſtood to have imagined Samſon in his marriage with Dalila acting merely from inclination, and (as people, who do ſo, are apt to reaſon falſely in their own vindication,) *falſely* attributing and aſcribing it to divine impulſe. This is conſiſtent with what is ſaid, ver. 532, where Samſon deſcribes himſelf "ſwoln with pride," that is, at his ſuperiour ſtrength, and on that account as it ſeems deſerted by God, and falling into the "ſnare of fair fallacious looks, &c." So that what he here ſays to Dalila is true; and the real motives of his marrying her were that he "loved her," as he himſelf ſays, "too well." DUNSTER.

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Thy country ſought of thee, it ſought unjuſtly,
Againſt the law of nature, law of nations;
No more thy country, but an impious crew
Of men conſpiring to uphold their ſtate
By worſe than hoſtile deeds, violating the ends
For which our country is a name ſo dear;
Not therefore to be obey'd. But zeal mov'd thee;
To pleaſe thy gods thou didſt it; gods unable
To acquit themſelves and proſecute their foes
But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction
Of their own deity, gods cannot be;
Leſs therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd.
Theſe falſe pretexts and varniſh'd colours failing,
Bare in thy guilt, how foul muſt thou appear!

Dal. In argument with men a woman ever
Goes by the worſe, whatever be her cauſe.

Samſ. For want of words no doubt, or lack
of breath;
Witneſs when I was worried with thy peals.

Ver. 898. —— *by ungodly deeds, the contradiction*
Of their own deity, gods cannot be;] So, in Baruch's deſcription of the Babylonian idols, chap. vi. 44. "Whatſoever is done among them *is falſe*: how may it then be thought or ſaid *that they are gods?*" TODD.

Ver. 901. —————— *and* varniſh'd colours *failing,*] See his *Proſe-Works*, vol. i. p. 161, ed. 1698. "*Painting* his lewd and deceitful principles with a ſmooth and gloſſy *varniſh* in a doctrinall way, to bring about his wickedeſt purpoſes." I apprehend that Milton might employ the expreſſion, in alluſion to St. James's deſcription of the tongue, which is called ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ *τῆς ἀδικίας*, "the *varniſh* of iniquity," as it ſhould be rendered. See Wetſtein in *Jac.* iii. 6. TODD.

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Dal. I was a fool, too raſh, and quite miſtaken
In what I thought would have ſucceeded beſt.
Let me obtain forgiveneſs of thee, Samſon;
Afford me place to ſhow what recompence
Towards thee I intend for what I have miſdone,
Miſguided; only what remains paſt cure
Bear not too ſenſibly, nor ſtill inſiſt
To afflict thyſelf in vain: though ſight be loſt,
Life yet hath many ſolaces, enjoy'd
Where other ſenſes want not their delights
At home in leiſure and domeſtick eaſe,
Exempt from many a care and chance, to which
Eye-ſight expoſes daily men abroad.
I to the Lords will intercede, not doubting
Their favourable ear, that I may fetch thee
From forth this loathſome priſon-houſe, to abide
With me, where my redoubled love and care
With nurſing diligence, to me glad office,
May ever tend about thee to old age
With all things grateful cheer'd, and ſo ſupplied,
That, what by me thou haſt loſt, thou leaſt ſhalt miſs.

Samſ. No, no; of my condition take no care;
It fits not; thou and I long ſince are twain:
Nor think me ſo unwary or accurs'd,
To bring my feet again into the ſnare

Ver. 914. ——— *though ſight be loſt*, &c.] We have a ſimilar ſentiment in Cicero, *Tuſc. Quæſt.* "Animo autem multis modis variiſque delectari licet, etiam ſi non adhibeatur aſpectus." L. v. C. 38. DUNSTER.

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Where once I have been caught: I know thy trains,
Though dearly to my coſt, thy gins, and toils;
Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,
No more on me have power; their force is null'd;
So much of adder's wiſdom I have learn'd,
To fence my ear againſt thy ſorceries.
If in my flower of youth and ſtrength, when all men
Lov'd, honour'd, fear'd me, thou alone could'ſt hate me
Thy huſband, ſlight me, ſell me, and forego me;
How would'ſt thou uſe me now, blind, and thereby

Ver. 934. *Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,*] Alluding, no doubt, to the ſtory of Circe and the Syrens: but did not our author's fondneſs for Greek learning make him here forget that it is a little out of character to repreſent Samſon acquainted with the mythology of that country? It ſeems the more odd, as the alluſion to the adder, immediately following, is taken from Scripture. THYER.

He might as well be ſuppoſed to know the ſtory of Circe and the Syrens, as of Tantalus, &c. before, v. 500: and there is no more impropriety in the one than in the other. NEWTON.

Mr. Thyer's obſervation is, however, juſt; and doctor Johnſon has not forgotten to notice the impropriety of all theſe alluſions. Mr. Glaſſe, in his tranſlation, and Mr. Penn, in his alteration, of this tragedy, have omitted theſe objectionable paſſages. TODD.

Ver. 936. *So much of adder's wiſdom I have learn'd,*] The alluſion is to *Pſalm* lviii. 4, 5. "They are like the *deaf adder*, that ſtoppeth her ear; which will *not hearken to the voice of charmers*, charming never ſo wiſely." NEWTON.

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Deceivable, in moſt things as a child
Helpleſs, thence eaſily contemn'd, and ſcorn'd,
And laſt neglected! How would'ſt thou inſult,
When I muſt live uxorious to thy will
In perfect thraldom; how again betray me,
Bearing my words and doings to the Lords
To gloſs upon, and, cenſuring, frown or ſmile!
This jail I count the houſe of liberty
To thine, whoſe doors my feet ſhall never enter.

Dal. Let me approach at leaſt, and touch thy hand.

Samſ. Not for thy life, leſt fierce remembrance wake
My ſudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.
At diſtance I forgive thee; go with that;
Bewail thy falſhood, and the pious works
It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
Among illuſtrious women, faithful wives!
Cheriſh thy haſten'd widowhood with the gold

Ver. 953. ——— *to tear thee joint by joint.*] Milton perhaps recollected blind Polymeſtor's deſire of revenge upon Hecuba, in the play of that name by Euripides, v. 1125. ed. Barnes.

——— εἰκὰ σὲ δ', ἣν ἁρπάσας χεροῖν
Διασπάσωμαι καὶ καθαιμάξω χρόα. TODD.

Ver. 956. ——— *to make thee memorable*
Among illuſtrious women, faithful wives!] This irony may have been ſuggeſted by Homer, ſpeaking of Clytemneſtra, *Odyſſ.* x.

——— ἡ δ' ἔξοχα λύγρ' ἰδυῖα,
Ἥτις κατ' αἶσχος ἔχευε, καὶ ἐσσομένῃσιν ὀπίσσω
Θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξὶ. TODD.

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Of matrimonial treaſon! ſo farewell.
Dal. I ſee thou art implacable, more deaf
To prayers than winds and ſeas; yet winds to ſeas
Are reconcil'd at length, and ſea to ſhore:
Thy anger, unappeaſable, ſtill rages,
Eternal tempeſt, never to be calm'd.
Why do I humble thus myſelf, and, ſuing
For peace, reap nothing but repulſe and hate;
Bid go with evil omen, and the brand
Of infamy upon my name denounc'd?
To mix with thy concernments I deſiſt
Henceforth, nor too much diſapprove my own.
Fame, if not double-fac'd, is double-mouth'd,
And with contrary blaſt proclaims moſt deeds;
On both his wings, one black, the other white,

Ver. 960. *I ſee thou art implacable*, &c.] Dryden has transferred the ſimile into his *Aureng-zebe*, A. i. S. i. The ſame claſſical alluſion is introduced in Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenſtein*, 1640. A. iv. S. i.

" I am deafe, inexorable as ſeas
" To the prayers of mariners, when their ſinking keel
" Is drunke with billowes." TODD.

Ver. 972. *And with* contrary *blaſt*] The old accent on *contrary*. Thus in Harrington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607. p. 217.

" From which (it ſeemed) now ſhe did ſo vary,
" As ſhe had rather done the quite *contrary*."

And in Habington's *Caſtara*, 1635. p. 116.

" By virtue of a cleane *contrary* gale." TODD.

Ver. 973. *On both his* wings, *one* black, *the other* white,] Milton, in his poem *In Quint. Nov.* ſpeaking of Fame, ſays

" Induit et *variis* exilia corpora *plumis*."

I do not recollect any inſtance of Fame having two wings of different colours aſſigned by any of the Roman poets. Milton

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Bears greateſt names in his wild aery flight.
My name perhaps among the circumcis'd 975
In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,
To all poſterity may ſtand defam'd,

ſeems to have equipped his deity, very characteriſtically, by borrowing one wing from Infamy, and another from Victory or Glory, as they are both deſcribed by Silius Italicus; where Virtue contraſts herſelf with Pleaſure or Diſſipation, L. xv. 95.

——————————— " *atris*
" Circa te ſemper volitans Infamia *pennis;*
" Mecum Honor, et Laudes, et læto Gloria vultu,
" Et Decus, et *niveis* Victoria concolor *alis.*"

Ben Jonſon, in one of his Maſks, introduces *Fama Bona* (as ſhe is deſcribed in *Inconolog. de Cæſare Ripa*) attired in white, with *white wings;* and ſhe terms herſelf the *white-wing'd* maid.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 974. *Bears greateſt names in* his wild *aery flight.*] I think Fame has paſſed for a goddeſs ever ſince Heſiod deified her, Ἔργ. 763. Milton makes her a *god*, I know not why unleſs ſecundum eos, qui dicunt utriuſque ſexus participationem habere numina. So, in his *Lycidas*, he ſays (unleſs it be a falſe print)

" So may ſome gentle *Muſe*
" With lucky words favour my deſtin'd urn,
" And as *he* paſſes turn;"

where *Muſe* in the maſculine for *poet* is very bold.

Perhaps it ſhould here alſo be,

" Bears greateſt names in his *wide* aery flight."

What Milton ſays of Fame's bearing great names on his wings, ſeems to be partly from Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 7.

" Illum aget penna metuente ſolvi
" Fama ſuperſtes." JORTIN.

I apprehend that *wild* is full as applicable as *wide* to the character and office of Fame. And thus Shakſpeare, *Othello*, A. ii. S. i.

" That paragons deſcription and *wild Fame.*" TODD.

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With malediction mention'd, and the blot
Of falſhood moſt unconjugal traduc'd.
But in my country, where I moſt deſire,
In Ecron, Gaza, Aſdod, and in Gath,
I ſhall be nam'd among the famouſeſt
Of women, ſung at ſolemn feſtivals,
Living and dead recorded, who, to ſave
Her country from a fierce deſtroyer, choſe
Above the faith of wedlock-bands; my tomb
With odours viſited and annual flowers;

Ver. 982. *I ſhall be nam'd* &c.] In the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides, Iolaus addreſſing Macaria tells her, v. 598.

Αλλ', ὦ μεγιστον εκπρεπως' ευψυχιας,
Πασων γυναικων ισθι τιμιωτατη,
Και ζῶσ' υφ' ημων και θανοῦσ' ισα πολυ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 986. ——————— *my tomb*
With odours viſited and annual flowers;] What is ſaid in Scripture of the daughter of Jephtha, *that the daughters of Iſrael went yearly to lament her*, ſeems to imply that this ſolemn and periodical viſitation of the tombs of eminent perſons was an eaſtern cuſtom. THYER.

This affectionate cuſtom of decorating the tombs of departed friends, has deſcended to later times. See the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, v. 632, ed. Barnes. It ſtill exiſts in ſome parts of this iſland. Shakſpeare alludes to it in *Cymbeline*, A. iv. S. v.

——————— " with faireſt flowers,
" Whilſt ſummer laſts, and I live here, Fidele,
" I'll ſweeten thy ſad grave."

Whence Collins, with remarkable taſte and pathos;

" To fair Fidele's graſſy tomb,
" Soft maids, and village hinds, ſhall bring
" Each opening ſweet of earlieſt bloom,
" And riſe all the blooming ſpring."

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Not leſs renown'd than in mount Ephraim
Jael, who with inhoſpitable guile
Smote Siſera ſleeping, through the temples nail'd.
Nor ſhall I count it heinous to enjoy
The publick marks of honour and reward,
Conferr'd upon me for the piety,
Which to my country I was judg'd to have ſhown.
At this whoever envies or repines,
I leave him to his lot, and like my own. [*Exit.*]

Chor. She's gone, a manifeſt ſerpent by her ſting
Diſcover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

Samſ. So let her go; God ſent her to debaſe me,

I take this opportunity of obſerving, that Collins may probably have been indebted to a fine paſſage in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Lover's Progreſs*, A. iv. S. i.

——————— " I will kneel by him,
" And on his hallow'd earth do my laſt duties:
" I'll *gather all the pride of Spring* to deck him;
" Woodbines ſhall grow upon his honour'd grave,
" And, as they proſper, claſp, to ſhow our friendſhip;
" And, when they wither, I'll die too." TODD.

Ver. 988. *Not leſs renown'd than in mount Ephraim Jael,*] Jael is celebrated in the noble ſong of Deborah and Barak, *Judg.* v. And Deborah dwelt *between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim*, Judg. iv. 5. NEWTON.

Ver. 995. *At this whoever envies or repines, I leave him to his lot, and like my own.*] Teucer to the Chorus in Sophocles's *Ajax*, v. 1060.

Ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν γνώμῃ φίλα,
Κεἶνος τ' ἐκεῖνα γεργέτω, κἀγὼ τάδε. CALTON.

Ver. 997. ——————— *a manifeſt ſerpent by her ſting*] The Son of Sirach makes a ſimilar obſervation on " an evil wife," *Eccluſ* xxvi. 7. " He that hath hold of her is as though he held a *ſcorpion*." TODD.

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And aggravate my folly, who committed
To ſuch a viper his moſt ſacred truſt
Of ſecreſy, my ſafety, and my life.
Chor. Yet beauty, though injurious, hath ſtrange power,
After offence returning, to regain
Love once poſſeſs'd, nor can be eaſily
Repuls'd, without much inward paſſion felt
And ſecret ſting of amorous remorſe.
Samſ. Love-quarrels oft in pleaſing concord end,
Not wedlock-treachery endangering life.
Chor. It is not virtue, wiſdom, valour, wit,

Ver. 1003. *Yet beauty, though injurious, hath ſtrange power,*] This truth Milton has finely exemplified in Adam forgiving Eve, and he had full experience of it in his own caſe. See note on *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 940. NEWTON.

Ver. 1008. *Love-quarrels oft in pleaſing concord end,*] Terence, *Andria*, iii. iii. 23.

" Amantium iræ, amoris integratio eſt." NEWTON.

Ver. 1010. *It is not virtue*, &c.] However juſt the obſervation may be, that Milton, in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, ſeems to court the favour of the female ſex, it is very certain, that he did not carry the ſame complaiſance into this performance. What the Chorus here ſays, outgoes the very bittereſt ſatire of Euripides, who was called the *woman-hater*. It may be ſaid indeed in excuſe, that the occaſion was very provoking, and that theſe reproaches are rather to be looked upon, as a ſudden ſtart of reſentment, than cool and ſober reaſoning. THYER.

Theſe reflections are the more ſevere, as they are not ſpoken by Samſon, who might be ſuppoſed to utter them out of pique and reſentment, but are delivered by the Chorus as ſerious and important truths. But, by all accounts, Milton himſelf had ſuffered ſome uneaſineſs through the temper and behaviour of two

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Strength, comelineſs of ſhape, or ampleſt merit,
That woman's love can win or long inherit;
But what it is, hard is to ſay,
Harder to hit,
(Which way ſoever men refer it,)
Much like thy riddle, Samſon, in one day
Or ſeven, though one ſhould muſing ſit.
If any of theſe, or all, the Timnian bride
Had not ſo ſoon preferr'd
Thy paranymph, worthleſs to thee compar'd,
Succeſſour in thy bed,
Nor both ſo looſly diſallied
Their nuptials, nor this laſt ſo treacherouſly
Had ſhorn the fatal harveſt of thy head.

of his wives; and no wonder therefore that, upon ſo tempting an occaſion as this, he indulges his ſpleen a little, depreciates the qualifications of the women, and aſſerts the ſuperiority of the men; and, to give theſe ſentiments the greater weight, puts them into the mouth of the Chorus. NEWTON.

Ver. 1020. *Thy* paranymph,] *Bride-man.* "But Samſon's wife was given to *his companion*, whom he had uſed as his friend," *Judg.* xiv. 20. RICHARDSON.

The *paranymph* is an old Engliſh word: Thus in *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, p. 204. "Our bleſſed Ladies *paranimphe* Saint Gabriell." And thus in Drummond's Pageants, *Jove*, ver. 29. "Thou ſhalt no *paranymph* raiſe to high place." Where *paranymph* has a different meaning, namely, that of an *abettor* or *ſupporter*. For Milton's *paranymph*, ſee *John* iii. 29. It was uſual, at the marriage-feaſts of the Jews, to have a ſelect company of young men to keep the bridegroom company, and to conduct the bride to the bridegroom's houſe. Selden has devoted a whole chapter to an inquiry into their office, in which he noticos the *Bride-knights* of the Engliſh, *Uxor Ebraica*, B. ii. TODD.

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Is it for that ſuch outward ornament
Was laviſh'd on their ſex, that inward gifts
Were left for haſte unfiniſh'd, judgement ſcant,
Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
Or value what is beſt
In choice, but oftеſt to affect the wrong?
Or was too much of ſelf-love mix'd,
Of conſtancy no root infix'd,
That either they love nothing, or not long?
Whate'er it be, to wiſeſt men and beſt
Seeming at firſt all heavenly under virgin veil,
Soft, modeſt, meek, demure,

Ver. 1025. *Is it for that ſuch outward ornament* &c.] Thus, in Taſſo's *Aminta*, A. iii. S. 1.

——————— " e tu Natura,
" Negligente maeſtra, perche ſolo
" A le donne nel volto, e in quel di fuori
" Poneſti quanto in loro è di gentile,
" Di manſueto, e di corteſe; e tutte
" L' altre parti obliaſti?" TODD.

Ver. 1034. ——————— *to wiſeſt* men *and beſt*] Read " to *the* wiſeſt *man*." See the following expreſſions—" in *his* way" —" draws *him* awry." MEADOWCOURT.

We have ſuch a change of the number in the *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 1183, where ſee the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 1035. ——————— *under virgin veil,*] Perhaps Milton here alludes to the Jewiſh virgins, who, being kept ſecluded from the ſight of men, were called *hidden* or *concealed*; and, when they were firſt preſented to their huſbands, covered their heads *with a veil*. But ſee his *Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce*, B. i. chap. 3; where he is ſpeaking of the diſappointments which *may* happen, in chooſing a wife, to " the ſober man honouring the appearance of modeſty, and hoping well of every ſocial virtue *under the veil*." TODD.

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Once join'd, the contrary ſhe proves, a thorn
Inteſtine, far within defenſive arms
A cleaving miſchief, in his way to virtue
Adverſe and turbulent, or by her charms
Draws him awry enſlav'd
With dotage, and his ſenſe deprav'd
To folly and ſhameful deeds which ruin ends.
What pilot ſo expert but needs muſt wreck,
Imbark'd with ſuch a ſteers-mate at the helm!
Favour'd of Heaven, who finds

Ver. 1038. ——— far *within defenſive arms*] An early edition of Tonſon's had printed "*war* within defenſive arms," which Tickell and Fenton have alſo followed, and moſt of the ſucceeding editions, before that of doctor Newton. TODD.

Ver. 1039. *A cleaving miſchief*,] Theſe words allude to the poiſoned ſhirt ſent to Hercules by his wife Deianira.

MEADOWCOURT.

So Dryden thought, *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i.

"When we lay next us what we hold moſt dear,
"*Like Hercules, envenom'd ſhirts we wear*,
"And CLEAVING MISCHIEFS."

Milton, in his *Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce*, ſpeaks of "the bleſſing of matrimony changed not ſeldom into a *co-inhabiting miſchief*." Pref. lib. i. In his treatiſe *Of Reformation* &c. B. 2. he has the expreſſion, differently applied, of "a *cleaving* curſe." TODD.

Ibid. ——— *in his way to virtue*
Adverſe and turbulent,] This is the ſentiment of the *woman-hater*, Euripides, *Oreſt.* v. 604.

Αἰεὶ γυναῖκες ἐμποδὼν ταῖς συμφοραῖς
Ἔφυσαν ἀνδρῶν, πρὸς τὸ δυστυχέστερον. TODD.

Ver. 1046. *Favour'd of Heaven, who finds* &c.] If Milton, like Solomon and the Son of Sirach, ſatiriſes the women in general, like them too he commends the virtuous and good; and

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One virtuous, rarely found,
That in domeſtick good combines:
Happy that houſe! his way to peace is ſmooth:
But virtue, which breaks through all oppoſition,
And all temptation can remove,
Moſt ſhines, and moſt is acceptable above.
Therefore God's univerſal law
Gave to the man deſpotick power
Over his female in due awe,
Nor from that right to part an hour,
Smile ſhe or lour:
So ſhall he leaſt confuſion draw
On his whole life, not ſway'd
By female uſurpation, or diſmay'd.
But had we beſt retire? I ſee a ſtorm.
Samſ. Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.
Chor. But this another kind of tempeſt brings.
Samſ. Be leſs abſtruſe, my riddling days are paſt.

eſteems a good wife a bleſſing from the Lord. See *Prov.* xviii. 22, xix. 14, and *Eccluſ.* xxvi. 1, 2. NEWTON.

But he harſhly eſteems ſuch an one a *rarity*, like the ſevere Grecian in his *Alceſtis*, v. 472—5. edit. Barnes. Yet Euripides has condeſcended to commend a *happy match*; and the language is not diſſimilar to this paſſage of Milton:

Γάμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὖ καθεστᾶσι βροτῶν,
Μακάριος αἰὼν· οἷς δὲ μὴ πίπλωσιν εὖ
Τὰ τ' ἔνδον εἰσὶ, τάτι θύραζε δυσχεῖς. TODD.

Ver. 1061. *But* had we *beſt retire*?] Read "But *we had* beſt retire:" or "But *had n't we* beſt retire?" SYMPSON.

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Chor. Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear
The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue
Draws hitherward; I know him by his ſtride,
The giant Harapha of Gath, his look
Haughty, as is his pile high-built and proud.
Comes he in peace? what wind hath blown him hither
I leſs conjecture than when firſt I ſaw
The ſumptuous Dalila floating this way:
His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.
Samſ. Or peace or not, alike to me he comes.

Ver. 1065. *Look now for no enchanting voice,*] Euripides, *Medea*, v. 773.

——— δίχου δὲ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους. TODD.

Ver. 1066. *The bait of* honied words;] Dr. Johnſon objects to the word *honied*: I will therefore ſhew that it was a common term in our old poetry: Thus in G. Wither's *Fidelia*, 1622.

"His *honied words*, his bitter lamentations."

Thus alſo Shakſpeare, *K. Hen. V.* A. i. S. i.

——— "his ſweet and *honied ſentences.*"

And Randolph's *Ariſtippus*, 1662. Prologue:

"No candied flattery, nor *honied words.*"

It is alſo claſſical. The phraſe "*Mellitos* verborum globulos," is in Petronius Arbiter; and Milton has, "*Mellitáſque* preces," *Eleg.* V. 68. The expreſſion is frequent in Greek; and Taſſo, in his *Aminta*, A. i. S. ii. has "*melate parole.*" See alſo *Tit. Andron.* A. iv. S. ult. which Milton had in his eye:

"I will *enchant* the old Andronichus,
"With *words more ſweet*, and yet more dangerous,
"Than *baits* to fiſh, or *honey*-ſtalks to ſheep."

"*Baited words*" is alſo a phraſe in Quarles's *Samſon*, 1632, p. 362. See alſo my note on *Comus*, v. 162. TODD.

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Chor. His fraught we ſoon ſhall know, he now arrives.

[Enter] *Harapha.*

Har. I come not, Samſon, to condole thy chance,
As theſe perhaps, yet wiſh it had not been,
Though for no friendly intent. I am of Gath;
Men call me Harapha, of ſtock renown'd
As Og, or Anak, and the Emims old
That Kiriathaim held; thou know'ſt me now,
If thou at all art known. Much I have heard

Ver. 1075. *His* fraught *we ſoon ſhall know,*] For *fraught*, read *freight*. MEADOWCOURT.

But *fraught* was commonly uſed. Thus in *Tit. Andron.* A. iv. S. ii. "As the bark that hath diſcharg'd her *fraught*." And in *Othello*, A. iii. S. iii. "Swell boſom with thy *fraught*." Milton employs the word again in his *Apol. for Smectym.* "Till the attention be weary, or memory have it's full *fraught*." Many inſtances of the word might be given from the poets of Milton's time. TODD.

Ver. 1079. *Men call me* Harapha, &c.] This character is fictitious, but is properly introduced by the poet, and not without ſome foundation in Scripture. *Arapha*, or rather *Rapha*, (ſays Calmet) was father of the giants of *Rephaim*. The word *Rapha* may likewiſe ſignify ſimply a giant.

Of ſtock renown'd as Og; ſee *Deut.* iii. 11. *Or Anak, and the Emims old;* ſee *Deut.* ii. 10, 11. *That Kiriathaim held;* ſee Gen. xiv. 5. NEWTON.

Ver. 1081. ——————— *thou know'ſt me now,*
If thou at all art known.] He is made to ſpeak in the ſpirit and almoſt in the language of Satan, *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 830.

"Not to know me argues yourſelves unknown."

NEWTON.

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Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd,
Incredible to me, in this diſpleas'd,
That I was never preſent on the place
Of thoſe encounters, where we might have tried
Each other's force in camp or liſted field;
And now am come to ſee of whom ſuch noiſe
Hath walk'd about, and each limb to ſurvey,
If thy appearance anſwer loud report.

Samſ. The way to know were not to ſee but taſte.

Har. Doſt thou already ſingle me? I thought
Gyves and the mill had tam'd thee. O that fortune
Had brought me to the field, where thou art fam'd
To have wrought ſuch wonders with an aſs's jaw!
I ſhould have forc'd thee ſoon with other arms,
Or left thy carcaſs where the aſs lay thrown:
So had the glory of proweſs been recover'd
To Paleſtine, won by a Philiſtine,
From the unforeſkin'd race, of whom thou bear'ſt
The higheſt name for valiant acts; that honour,
Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee,

Ver. 1093. *Gyves*] Chains. So, in *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. iii.

——————— "Muſt I repent?
"I cannot do it better than in *gyves*."

And in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, B. v. ſt. 42.

"Theſe hands were made to ſhake ſharp ſpears and ſwords,
"Not to be tied in *gyves* &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 1102. ——————— *by mortal* duel] An alluſion to the old *Duello* or ſingle combat. See note on v. 1226. So

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I loſe, prevented by thy eyes put out.
Samſ. Boaſt not of what thou would'ſt have done, but do
What then thou would'ſt; thou ſeeſt it in thy hand.
Har. To combat with a blind man I diſdain,
And thou haſt need much waſhing to be touch'd.
Samſ. Such uſage as your honourable lords
Afford me, aſſaſſinated and betray'd,
Who durſt not with their whole united powers
In fight withſtand me ſingle and unarm'd,
Nor in the houſe with chamber-ambuſhes
Cloſe-banded durſt attack me, no, not ſleeping,
Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold
Breaking her marriage-faith to circumvent me.
Therefore, without feign'd ſhifts, let be aſſign'd
Some narrow place enclos'd, where fight may give thee,
Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet

Drayton uſes the word in his *David and Goliath*, where Saul tells David, that Goliath was "expert in all to *duels* that belong." See alſo *Par. Reg.* B. i. 174. Samſon calls it "the trial of *mortal fight*," v. 1175; which is another phraſe in chivalry. Thus in Groue's *Hiſt. of Peſiſtratus and Catanea*, 1587, bl. l. of a combat:

"The heralds' ſownd diſplayd,
"The courſers meete with ſpeares, &c.
"And thus the *mortall fight*." TODD.

Ver. 1113. *Cloſe-banded*] Here in the ſenſe of *ſecretly leagued*, rather than in its uſual acceptation of *thick-ranged*. JOHNSON.

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And brigandine of braſs, thy broad habergeon,
Vant-brace and greves, and gauntlet, add thy
ſpear,
A weaver's beam, and ſeven-times-folded ſhield;

Ver. 1120. *And* brigandine *of braſs*, &c.] *Brigandine*, a coat of mail. *Jer.* xlvi. 4. " Furbiſh the ſpears, and put on the *brigandines*." See alſo li. 3. *Habergeon*, a coat of mail for the neck and ſhoulders, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vi. 29.

" Their mighty ſtrokes their *habergeons* diſmail'd,
" And naked made each others manly ſpalles:

Spalles, that is, ſhoulders. And ſee Fairfax, B. i. ſt. 72. *Vant-brace*, avant-bras, armour for the arms. So, in *Troil. and Creſſ.* A. i. S. vi. Neſtor ſpeaks:

" I'll hide my ſilver beard in a gold beaver,
" And in my *vantbrace* put this wither'd brawn."

And ſee Fairfax, B. xx. ſt. 139. *Greves*, armour for the legs. I *Sam.* xvii. 6. " And he had *greves* of braſs upon his legs." *Gauntlet*, an iron glove, *Hen. IV.* P. 2. A. i. S. iii. Old Nurthumberland ſpeaks:

——— " Hence therefore, thou nice crutch;
" A ſcaly *gauntlet* now with joints of ſteel
" Muſt glove this hand." NEWTON.

Ver. 1121. ——— add *thy ſpear*,] This is Milton's own reading: The other editions have " *and* thy ſpear," which is not ſo proper; for it cannot well be ſaid in conſtruction, *put on thy ſpear*. NEWTON.

The reviſer of Tonſon's edition in 1747 had attended to the poet's text; for it reads " *add* thy ſpear." TODD.

Ver. 1122. *A weaver's beam*,] As the ſpear of Goliath was. Sylveſter goes further, and ſays of Goliath's ſpear, *Du Bart.* ed. 1621. p. 414, " His lance a loom-beame or a *maſt*." Milton ſays that Satan's ſpear was ſo large and lofty, that the *maſt of an admiral's ſhip* was but a wand in compariſon, *Par. L.* B. i. 293. Here Taſſo has been quoted by the commentators, *Gier. Lib.* C. vi. 40. But the original is in Boiardo, L. i. C. ii. 52. Signat.

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I only with an oaken ſtaff will meet thee,
And raiſe ſuch outcries on thy clatter'd iron,
Which long ſhall not withhold me from thy head,
That in a little time, while breath remains thee,
Thou oft ſhalt wiſh thyſelf at Gath, to boaſt
Again in ſafety what thou would'ſt have done
To Samſon, but ſhalt never ſee Gath more.

Har. Thou durſt not thus diſparage glorious arms,
Which greateſt heroes have in battle worn,
Their ornament and ſafety, had not ſpells
And black enchantments, ſome magician's art,
Arm'd thee or charm'd thee ſtrong, which thou from Heaven

B. iii. edit. 1527. The pagan giant Spinello appears on a horſe of a monſtrous magnitude, holding the *maſt of a ſhip* for a ſpear:

" Porta pur lanza un gran *fuſto d' antenna.*"

Spenſer, a diſciple of the Italian poets, has the ſame thought, F. Q. iii. vii. 40.

" All were the beame in bignes like a *maſt.*"

Perhaps it is firſt to be found in Ovid's Polypheme, *Met.* xiii. 782.

" Cui poſtquam pinus, *baculi* quæ præbuit uſum,
" Ante pedes poſita eſt, *antennis apta ferendis.*"

Or in Lucilius's Fragments, *Sat.* Lib. xv. 14. *Poet. Latin.* Maittair. tom. ii. p. 1499, of Homer's Polypheme:

——— " et porro huic majus bacillum
" Quàm *malus navis* in corbita maximus ulla."

T. WARTON.

Ver. 1122. ——— *and ſeven-times-folded ſhield;*] As was Ajax's. Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 2. " Clypei dominus ſeptemplicis."

NEWTON.

Ver. 1134. *Arm'd thee or charm'd thee ſtrong,*] Mr. Thyer here obſerves, It is very probable that Milton adopted this no-

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Feign'dſt at thy birth was given thee in thy hair,
Where ſtrength can leaſt abide, though all thy
hairs
Were briſtles rang'd like thoſe that ridge the back
Of chaf'd wild boars, or ruffled porcupines.
Samſ. I know no ſpells, uſe no forbidden arts;
My truſt is in the living God, who gave me 1140

tion from the Italian Epicks, who are very full of enchanted arms, and ſometimes repreſent their heroes invulnerable by this art. But, as Mr. Warton remarks, the poet's idea is immediately and particularly taken from the ritual of the combat in chivalry. See note on *Comus*, v. 647.—Samſon replies,

" I know no ſpells, uſe no forbidden arts;
" My truſt is in the living God"—

Here, it muſt be obſerved, is a direct alluſion to the oath taken, before the judges of the combat, by the champions—" I do ſwear, that I have not upon me, nor on any of the *arms* I ſhall uſe, words, *charms*, or *enchantments*, to which I truſt for help to conquer my enemy, but that *I do only truſt in God*, in my right, and in the ſtrength of my body and arms." Cockburn's *Hiſt. of Duels*, p. 115. The poet here ſays " *black* enchantments," in like manner as Machin, introducing the ſame ancient oath in his *Dumb Knight*, 1633. " Here you ſhall ſwear &c.

" That here you ſtand not *arm'd* with any guile
" Of philters, *charms*, of night-ſpells, characters,
" And other *black* infernal 'vantages."

Milton's Harapha, as Mr. Warton obſerves, is as much a Gothick giant as any in Amadis de Gaul; and, like a Gothick giant, engages in an unjuſt cauſe againſt a virtuous champion.
TODD.

Ver. 1138. ——————— *or ruffled porcupines.*] Who can doubt that Milton here had Shakſpeare in mind? *Hamlet*, A. i. S. viii.

" And each particular hair to ſtand on end,
" Like quills upon the fretful porcupine." NEWTON.

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At my nativity this ſtrength, diffus'd
No leſs through all my ſinews, joints, and bones,
Than thine, while I preſerv'd theſe locks unſhorn,
The pledge of my unviolated vow.
For proof hereof, if Dagon be thy God,
Go to his temple, invocate his aid
With ſolemneſt devotion, ſpread before him
How highly it concerns his glory now
To fruſtrate and diſſolve theſe magick ſpells,
Which I to be the power of Iſrael's God
Avow, and challenge Dagon to the teſt,
Offering to combat thee his champion bold,
With the utmoſt of his Godhead ſeconded:
Then thou ſhalt ſee, or rather, to thy ſorrow,
Soon feel, whoſe God is ſtrongeſt, thine or mine.

Har. Preſume not on thy God, whate'er he be;
Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off
Quite from his people, and deliver'd up
Into thy enemies' hand, permitted them
To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd ſend thee
Into the common priſon, there to grind
Among the ſlaves and aſſes thy comrádes,

Ver. 1161. ——————— *there to grind*
Among the ſlaves and aſſes thy comrádes,] There can be no doubt that Milton had here Apuleius's deſcription of a *piſtrinum* in his mind. See *Met.* ix. ad init. where the aſs, who is the ſpeaker, ſays, "Jam de meo *jumentario contubernio* quid, vel ad quem modum, memorem?" DUNSTER.

Ver. 1162. ——————— *thy* comrádes,] With the accent upon the laſt ſyllable as in *Hen. IV.* P. i. A. iv. S. ii.

"And his *comrádes* that daft the world aſide,
"And bid it paſs." NEWTON.

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As good for nothing elſe; no better ſervice
With thoſe thy boiſterous locks, no worthy match
For valour to aſſail, nor by the ſword
Of noble warriour, ſo to ſtain his honour,
But by the barber's razor beſt ſubdued.

Samſ. All theſe indignities, for ſuch they are
From thine, theſe evils I deſerve, and more,
Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me
Juſtly, yet deſpair not of his final pardon,
Whoſe ear is ever open, and his eye
Gracious to re-admit the ſuppliant:
In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,
By combat to decide whoſe God is God,
Thine, or whom I with Iſrael's ſons adore.

Har. Fair honour that thou doſt thy God, in truſting
He will accept thee to defend his cauſe,
A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber!

Samſ. Tongue-doughty Giant, how doſt thou prove me theſe?

Ver. 1164. *With thoſe thy* boiſterous *locks,*] He uſes *boiſterous* in the ſame manner in his *Proſe-Works*, vol. 1. ed. 1698, p. 411. "A *boiſterous* and beſtial ſtrength." So, in ver. 569, Samſon's locks are called *robuſtious*. TODD.

Ver. 1175. *Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,*] Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* C. ii. 90.

"Ed a guerra mortal, diſſe, vi ſfido." DUNSTER.

Ver. 1181. Tongue-doughty *Giant,*] Doughty, that is, *valiant*. See Skinner. Θρασύτολμος, Æſchylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 617. RICHARDSON.

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Har. Is not thy nation ſubject to our lords?
Their magiſtrates confeſs'd it, when they took thee
As a league-breaker, and deliver'd bound
Into our hands: for hadſt thou not committed
Notorious murder on thoſe thirty men
At Aſcalon, who never did thee harm,
Then like a robber ſtripp'dſt them of their robes?
The Philiſtines, when thou hadſt broke the league,
Went up with armed powers thee only ſeeking,
To others did no violence nor ſpoil.

Samſ. Among the daughters of the Philiſtines
I choſe a wife, which argued me no foe;
And in your city held my nuptial feaſt:
But your ill-meaning politician lords,
Under pretence of bridal friends and gueſts,

Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Pilgrim*, A. ii. S. iii:

"Leave your *tongue-valour*, and diſpatch your haſte."

And, as Mr. Dunſter remarks, the *little French Lawyer* of the ſame authors, A. v. S. i.

"O brave *tongue-valiant* and vain-glorious woman."

See alſo *The Caſtle Combat*, 1635.

"Thou art nothing but *tongue-courage* now I ſee." TODD.

Ver. 1188. ——— *ſtripp'dſt them of their* robes?] In the text of the Bible it is "took their *ſpoil*," but in the margin "*apparel*." It has been ſuppoſed, that it was at ſome feſtival, either in the fields or in the city, when great companies met together, and appeared in their beſt apparel. TODD.

Ver. 1196. Under pretence *of* bridal *friends*] The attendant young men at Samſon's marriage, are ſaid to have belonged to his wife's family, and not to have been, as was uſual, his own relations or acquaintance. Joſephus relates that, *under the pretence of honour*, they ſent theſe thirty companions *to watch over*

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Appointed to await me thirty ſpies,
Who, threatening cruel death, conſtrain'd the bride
To wring from me, and tell to them, my ſecret,
That ſolv'd the riddle which I had propos'd.
When I perceiv'd all ſet on enmity,
As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,
I us'd hoſtility, and took their ſpoil,
To pay my underminers in their coin.
My nation was ſubjected to your lords;
It was the force of conqueſt; force with force
Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.
But I, a private perſon, whom my country
As a league-breaker gave up bound, preſum'd
Single rebellion, and did hoſtile acts.
I was no private, but a perſon rais'd

him, leſt he ſhould commit any diſturbance. Quarles, in his *Hiſt of Samſon*, 1632, p. 307, follows this notion:

" They therefore, to prevent enſuing harmes,
" Gave ſtrict command, that thirty men of armes,
" *Vnde the maſke of bridemen*, ſhould attend
" Vntill the nuptiall ceremonies end."

Bridal is Saxon for *the nuptial feaſt*. See a variety of curious illuſtrations in Warton's *Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 128, note f. Where the learned and ingenious writer obſerves, that the word has been applied adjectively, for *connubial*, and that Milton perhaps remembered or retained its original uſe in this paſſage, " Under pretence of *bridal* friends;" that is, " Under pretence of friends and gueſts invited to the *bridal*." But he adds, that Milton, in *Par. Loſt*, ſpeaks of the evening ſtar haſtening to light the " *bridal* lamp," which in another part of the ſame poem he calls the " *nuptial* torch." B. viii. 520, B. xi. 590. Todd.

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With ſtrength ſufficient, and command from Heaven,
To free my country; if their ſervile minds
Me, their deliverer ſent, would not receive,
But to their maſters gave me up for nought,
The unworthier they; whence to this day they ſerve.
I was to do my part from Heaven aſſign'd,
And had perform'd it, if my known offence
Had not diſabled me, not all your force:
Theſe ſhifts refuted, anſwer thy appellant,
Though by his blindneſs maim'd for high attempts,
Who now defies thee thrice to ſingle fight,
As a petty enterpriſe of ſmall enforce.
Har. With thee! a man condemn'd, a ſlave inroll'd,
Due by the law to capital puniſhment!
To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

Ver. 1220. ——————— *anſwer thy* appellant,] Thy *challenger*. The *defendant*, in like manner, ſignifies the *perſon challenged*. Thus, in Shakſpeare's *K. Hen. VI.* P. ii. A. ii. S. iii.

" This is the day appointed for the combat;
" And ready are the *appellant* and *defendant*,
" The armourer and his man." TODD.

Ver. 1222. *Who now defies thee thrice*] This was the cuſtom and the law of arms, to give the challenge and to ſound the trumpet *thrice*. In alluſion to the ſame practice Edgar appears, to fight with the Baſtard, *by the third ſound of the trumpet*, K. Lear, A. v. S. vii. NEWTON.

Ver. 1226. *To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.*] Another alluſion to the laws of the *Duello*, the old ſingle-combat.

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Samſ. Cam'ſt thou for this, vain boaſter, to
ſurvey me,
To deſcant on my ſtrength, and give thy verdict?
Come nearer; part not hence ſo ſlight inform'd;
But take good heed my hand ſurvey not thee.
Har. O Baal-zebub! can my ears unus'd
Hear theſe diſhonours, and not render death?
Samſ. No man withholds thee, nothing from
thy hand
Fear I incurable; bring up thy van,
My heels are fetter'd, but my fiſt is free.
Har. This inſolence other kind of anſwer fits.
Samſ. Go, baffled coward! leſt I run upon thee,
Though in theſe chains, bulk without ſpirit vaſt,

" They are *not to be admitted proofe by armes*, who haue committed any treaſon againſt their prince or countrie, &c. To theſe we may alſo adde freebooters, and all ſuch as for any military diſorder are baniſhed. Likewiſe all theeves, robbers, ruffians, tauerne-hunters, excommunicate perſons, hereticks, vſurers, and all other perſons, not liuing as a gentleman or a ſouldier: and in concluſion, all ſuch as are defamed for anye defecte, and are not allowed for witneſſes in Ciuile law, &c. And of theſe I ſaye that not onelye they are to bee refuſed vpon challenging another man, but all honourable perſons or gentlemen ſhould abandon their companye, and *whoſoeuer ſhould fight with them ſhould iniurie himſelfe, making himſelfe equall with diſhonourable perſons.*" Vincentio Saviolo, *Of Honor and honorable Quarrels*, interlaced with ſundrie and pleaſant diſcourſes, not vnfit for all Gentlemen and Captaines that profeſſe arms, Lond. 1595, 4to. From the chapter, entitled, *Who is not to be admitted to the* [Duello, or] *proofe of armes.* TODD.

Ver. 1231. *O* Baal-zebub!] He is properly made to invoke *Baal-zebub*, as afterwards to ſwear by *Aſtaroth;* that is, the deities of the Philiſtines and neighbouring nations. NEWTON.

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And with one buffet lay thy ſtructure low,
Or ſwing thee in the air, then daſh thee down
To the hazard of thy brains and ſhatter'd ſides.
Har. By Aſtaroth, ere long thou ſhalt lament
Theſe braveries, in irons loaden on thee. [*Exit.*]
Chor. His giantſhip is gone ſomewhat creſt-fallen,
Stalking with leſs unconſcionable ſtrides,
And lower looks, but in a ſultry chafe.
Samſ. I dread him not, nor all his giant brood,
Though Fame divulge him father of five ſons,
All of gigantick ſize, Goliah chief.
Chor. He will directly to the lords, I fear,
And with malicious counſel ſtir them up
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.
Samſ. He muſt allege ſome cauſe, and offer'd fight

Ver. 1242. ——— *ere long thou ſhalt lament*
Theſe braveries, &c.] This connects Harapha with the buſineſs of the drama, by making his revenge for the threatening and contemptuous language of Samſon the cauſe, why the latter is to be brought before the publick aſſembly to make ſport for them. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1248. *Though* Fame divulge *him*] So it plainly ſhould be as Milton himſelf corrected it, and not *divulg'd* as it is in all the editions. NEWTON.

The errour is corrected in Tonſon's edit. of 1747. See alſo the note on *Paradiſe Reg.* B. iii. 60. TODD.

Ibid. ——— *father of five ſons*, &c.] The ſtory of Goliath of Gath is very well known; and the other four are mentioned II *Sam.* xxi. 15—22. "Theſe four were born to the giant [or *to Harapha*] in Gath, and fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his ſervants." NEWTON.

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Will not dare mention, leſt a queſtion riſe
Whether he durſt accept the offer or not;
And, that he durſt not, plain enough appear'd.
Much more affliction than already felt
They cannot well impoſe, nor I ſuſtain;
If they intend advantage of my labours,
The work of many hands, which earns my keeping
With no ſmall profit daily to my owners.
But come what will, my deadlieſt foe will prove
My ſpeedieſt friend, by death to rid me hence;
The worſt that he can give, to me the beſt.
Yet ſo it may fall out, becauſe their end
Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.

Chor. Oh how comely it is, and how reviving
To the ſpirits of juſt men long oppreſs'd!
When God into the hands of their deliverer
Puts invincible might
To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppreſſour,
The brute and boiſterous force of violent men,
Hardy and induſtrious to ſupport
Tyrannick power, but raging to purſue
The righteous and all ſuch as honour truth;
He all their ammunition
And feats of war defeats,
With plain heroick magnitude of mind
And celeſtial vigour arm'd;
Their armouries and magazines contemns,
Renders them uſeleſs; while

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With winged expedition,
Swift as the lightning glance, he executes
His errand on the wicked, who, ſurpris'd,
Loſe their defence, diſtracted and amaz'd.
But patience is more oft the exerciſe
Of ſaints, the trial of their fortitude,
Making them each his own deliverer,
And victor over all
That tyranny or fortune can inflict.
Either of theſe is in thy lot,
Samſon, with might endued
Above the ſons of men; but ſight bereav'd
May chance to number thee with thoſe
Whom patience finally muſt crown.
This idol's day hath been to thee no day of reſt,
Labouring thy mind
More than the working day thy hands.
And yet perhaps more trouble is behind,
For I deſcry this way
Some other tending; in his hand
A ſcepter or quaint ſtaff he bears,
Comes on amain, ſpeed in his look.

Ver. 1283. *With* winged expedition,] From Shakſpeare, perhaps. See *K. Rich.* III. A. iv. S. iii.

" Then fiery *expedition* be my *wing*." TODD.

Ver. 1284. *Swift as the* lightning *glance he* executes
His errand] So, again in Shakſpeare, *K. Rich. II.* A. i. S. iii.

" Be ſwift like *lightning* in the *execution*." TODD.

Ver. 1288. *Of ſaints,*] The fanatical language of the republican party. DUNSTER.

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By his habit I diſcern him now
A publick officer, and now at hand;
His meſſage will be ſhort and voluble.

[Enter] *Officer.*

Off. Hebrews, the priſoner Samſon here I ſeek.
Chor. His manacles remark him, there he ſits.
Off. Samſon, to thee our lords thus bid me ſay;
This day to Dagon is a ſolemn feaſt,
With ſacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games:

Ver. 1309. ——— remark *him,*] *Diſtinguiſh* him, point him out. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1312. ——— ſacrifices, triumph, pomp, &c.] *Triumphs* are *Shows*, ſuch as maſks, revels, &c. See *L'Allegro*, v. 120, and the note there. Bacon has an Eſſay, "*Of Maſks and Triumphs.*" Eſſ. xxxvii. And in his Eſſay, "*Of Buildings,*" he directs a ſide of the houſe "for the Banquet, and a ſide for the Houſhold: the one for Feaſts and *Triumphs*, and the other for dwelling, &c." See alſo Eſſ. xlv. And in biſhop Fyſher's funeral or commemorative Sermon on Margaret counteſs of Richmond, edit. Baker, 1708, p. 29. "For when the kynge her ſon was crowned, in all that great *tryumphe* [ſhow] and glorye, ſhe wept merveylouſly; and lykewyſe at the grete *tryumphe* of the marryage of prynce Arthur, &c." In the ſame ſenſe we are to interpret Drayton, in the Epiſtle from king Edward to Jane Shore, v. i. p. 331.

"Where thou ſhalt ſit, and from thy ſtate ſhalt ſee
"The tilts and *triumphs* that are done for thee."

So alſo Jonſon, ſpeaking of court-follies to be exhibited in a Maſk, *Cynth Rev.* A. iv. S. vi.

——— "Holding true intelligence what follies
"Had crept into her palace, ſhee reſolv'd,
"Of *ſports* and *triumphs* under the pretext,
"To have them muſter'd in their *pomp* and fulneſſe."

And Shakſpeare, *Midſ. N. Dr.* A. i. S. i.

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Thy ſtrength they know ſurpaſſing human rate,
And now ſome publick proof thereof require

" But I will wed thee in another key,
" With *pomp*, with *triumph*, and with revelling."

Again, where a paraphraſtick explanation of the word is added, *K. Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. v. S. vii.

" And now what reſts, but that we ſpend the time
" With ſtately *triumphs*, mirthful comick ſhows,
" Such as befit the pleaſures of the court."

And thus we perceive the preciſe meaning of Falſtaff's humour to Bardolph. " O, thou art a perpetual *triumph*, an everlaſting bonfire-light." *Pomp* has a peculiar and technical ſignification in ſome of theſe Shows of a romantick age. But I muſt further obſerve that Milton is often learned, when it is not ſuſpected, and that both here and in other paſſages he has applied *pomp* in the appropriated ſenſe which it bore to the Grecian feſtivals, where the ΠΟΜΠΗ, a principal part of the ceremony, was the ſpectacular proceſſion. See ver. 435. of this tragedy. " Great POMP and *ſacrifice*." And ver. 449. So, in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 457, where the ſubject is expreſsly Grecian; of the Delphick Apollo:

" And thou no more with POMP and *ſacrifice*
" Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elſewhere."

A *ſacrifice*, mentioned alſo in the text, was another and a regular accompaniment of the Grecian feſtival. See Theocritus, *Idyll.* ii. 68, 72. And the notes on the Oxford edition, 1770, 4to. And in this *proceſſional* ſenſe, or under the idea of a ſolemn aſſembly, *pomp* is to be underſtood in *Par. Loſt*, B. vii. 564, viii. 61. T. WARTON.

Ver. 1313. ——————— rate,] In the firſt edition it was printed *race*, but in the table of Errata we are deſired to read *rate*. No wonder the firſt reading is followed in all the editions, when it is ſenſe; for it would have been followed in all probability, though it had made nonſenſe. NEWTON.

I muſt exempt from this remark the edition of Tonſon in 1747, which reads " ſurpaſſing human *rate*. TODD."

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To honour this great feaſt, and great aſſembly;
Riſe therefore with all ſpeed, and come along,
Where I will ſee thee hearten'd, and freſh clad,
To appear, as fits, before the illuſtrious lords.

Samſ. Thou know'ſt I am an Hebrew, therefore tell them,
Our Law forbids at their religious rites
My preſence; for that cauſe I cannot come.

Off. This anſwer, be aſſur'd, will not content them.

Samſ. Have they not ſword-players, and every ſort

Ver. 1323. *Have they not ſword-players*, &c.] Milton has here introduced the uſual attendants at the old Feſtivities of his own country. He here alludes perhaps, not without contempt, to the *holiday-ſports*, ſo frequent in the early part of the ſeventeenth century, which were aboliſhed by the puritans, but in part revived at the reſtoration of Charles II. See more on this ſubject in the note on v. 1418.

The *ſword-players*, or gladiators, of the ancient ſtage, are often mentioned by Prynne in his *Hiſtrio-maſtix*, 1633. But Milton may mean *fencing-maſters*, or profeſſors of the "*noble ſcience of defence*," who were accuſtomed to diſplay their ſkill, on publick ſtages, in the exerciſe of various kinds of ſwords, and other weapons. See Mr. Stevens's Note on *Merry Wives of Windſ.* A. ii. S. i. Shakſpeare, edit. 1793, vol. iii. p. 327. We are not to forget that *ſword-dances* alſo were among the entertainments of the ſame period.

The *gymnick artiſts* are perhaps thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the athletick exhibition of leaping, tumbling, and caſting the bar, as well as of *wreſtling*, and contending for the prize at horſe-races and foot-races; *riding*, *running*.

The *juglers* were anciently included under the general name of *minſtrels*: and were ſo called from the French *jongleur*, *jugleur*, Lat. *joculator*, *juglator*. See Dr. Percy's Eſſay on the ancient

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Of gymnick artiſts, wreſtlers, riders, runners, Juglers, and dancers, anticks, mummers, mimicks, 1325

Minſtrels, Reliq. of Anc. Poetry, vol. i. They ſang, to their inſtruments, verſes compoſed by themſelves or others. Cotgrave calls them "*rimers.*" They are often mentioned by our old hiſtorians. The ancient *wreſtlers, mimes, dancers, gladiators,* and *gymnick artiſts* alſo, "tota *joculatorum ſcena,*" are cited from John of Saliſbury, in Warton's Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 205. Milton, however, probably uſed the word here in the vulgar meaning of *jugglers*, i. e. thoſe who practice ſlight of hand.

The *anticks* were buffoons in the old Engliſh farces, with a blacked face and a patch-work habit. See the commentators on *Much ado about Nothing*, A. iii. S. i. Milton illuſtrates the meaning of the word in his *Apol. Smectymn.* "In the colleges ſo many of the young divines, and thoſe in next aptitude to divinity, have bin ſeene ſo often upon the ſtage, writhing and unboning their clergie-limbs to all the ANTICK *and diſhoneſt geſtures of Trinculos, buffoons,* and bawds."

The *mummers* were a ſet of perſons, who went about at Chriſtmas, in diſguiſe, to get money or good cheer. Thus in Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuſes*, bl. l. p. 111. b. "But eſpecially in Chriſtmas tyme there is nothing els vſed but Cardes, Dice, Tables, Maſkyng, *Mumming*, Bowling, and ſuch like fooleries." And Minſheu ſays that the *mummers* were ſo called, becauſe they made it a law among themſelves, to ſay nothing but *mum.* See his *Guide into Tongues*, edit. 1627. See alſo the old *Tragicall Comedie of Damon and Pithias*, bl. l. 4to. Sign. C. i.

"'Good faith, ſir, concernynge the people they are not gay,
"And, as farre as I ſee, they be MUMMERS; for *nought they ſay.*"

They appear to have been once a very formidable crew, by a ſtatute enacted in the third year of Henry the 8th, concerning them: "Foraſmuch as lately within this realm, divers perſons have diſguiſed and apparelled themſelves, and covered their faces with viſors or other things, in ſuch manner as they ſhould not be known; and divers of them in a company, naming themſelves *mummers*, have come to the dwelling place of divers men of honour and ſubſtantial perſons, and ſo departed unknown;

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But they must pick me out, with shackles tir'd,
And over-labour'd at their publick mill,
To make them sport with blind activity?

whereupon murders, felony, rape, and other great hurts and inconveniences have afore-time grown, and hereafter be like to come by colour thereof, if the said disorder should continue not reformed: Be it enacted &c." The punishment is fine and imprisonment. Mr. Warton, in his note on *Comus*, v. 178, says the *mummers* were called *wassailers*. In Wolsey's entertainment of Henry the 8th were introduced "masquers and *mummers*, in such costly manner, that it was glorious to behold." See Cavendish's *Mem. of Wolsey*, p. 31. The *masquers* probably *spoke* in character; the *mummers* perhaps used only signs. See Shakspeare, *Coriol.* A. ii. S. i. "If you chance to be pinched with the colick, *you make faces like* MUMMERS." The *mummers at Christmas* still make their appearance in some parts of England, particularly in the North, both with recitation and in theatrick garb.

The *minicks* were ludicrous characters on the stage, not unlike *the Vice* of the old English drama, according to Minsheu. That they were *actors* is evident from Dekker's *Gul's Horne-booke*, 1609, p. 31, where instruction is given "*How a gallant should behave himselfe in a Play-house*—No matter whether the scenes be good or no; the better they are, the worse do you judge them: and, being on your feete, sneke not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance, that are spred either on the rushes, or on stooles about you, and draw what troope you can from the stage after you: the *mimicks* are beholden to you, for allowing them elbow roome: their poet cries perhaps a pox go with you; but care not you for that; there's no musick without frets!"

In the first edition it is printed *mimics*; and doctor Newton says, "What are *mimirs*? The table of Errata to the first edition hath set us right, instructing us to read *mimicks*; but not one of the editions hath followed it." Yet Tonson's edition of 1747 has followed it; and so has a Dublin edition, by Grierson, in 1748. I think it curious to remark, that doctor Johnson has given *mimir* a place in his Dictionary, as if it were a word of authority. TODD.

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Do they not ſeek occaſion of new quarrels
On my refuſal to diſtreſs me more,
Or make a game of my calamities?
Return the way thou cam'ſt, I will not come.
Off. Regard thyſelf; this will offend them highly.
Samſ. Myſelf? my conſcience, and internal peace.
Can they think me ſo broken, ſo debas'd
With corporal ſervitude, that my mind ever
Will condeſcend to ſuch abſurd commands?
Although their drudge, to be their fool or jeſter,
And in my midſt of ſorrow and heart-grief
To ſhow them feats, and play before their God,
The worſt of all indignities, yet on me
Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.
Off. My meſſage was impos'd on me with ſpeed,
Brooks no delay: is this thy reſolution?

Ver. 1333. Off. *Regard thyſelf; this will offend them highly.*
Samſ. *Myſelf? my conſcience, and internal peace.*
Can they think me ſo broken, &c.] Compare the advice of Mercury to Prometheus, Æſchyl. *Prom. Vinct.* v. 1041, edit. Schütz.

——— σὺ δὲ
Πάσχεινα καὶ ψρόντιζε, μηδ' αὐθαδίαν
Εὐβουλίας ἀμείνον' ἡγήσῃ ποτέ.

The Chorus commend the propriety of this advice; but Prometheus, unmoved, exhibits the ſame ſternneſs as Samſon:

Εἰδέναι τοι μοὶ τὰσδ' ἀγγελίας
Οὐδ' ἰθύνῃς, πάσχειν δὶ κακῶς
Ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, οὐδὶν ἀνιαῖ, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

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Samſ. So take it with what ſpeed thy meſſage needs.

Off. I am ſorry what this ſtoutneſs will produce. [*Exit.*]

Samſ. Perhaps thou ſhalt have cauſe to ſorrow indeed.

Chor. Conſider, Samſon; matters now are ſtrain'd
Up to the highth, whether to hold or break:
He's gone, and who knows how he may report
Thy words by adding fuel to the flame?
Expect another meſſage more imperious,
More lordly thundering than thou well wilt bear.

Samſ. Shall I abuſe this conſecrated gift
Of ſtrength, again returning with my hair
After my great tranſgreſſion; ſo requite
Favour renew'd, and add a greater ſin
By proſtituting holy things to idols?
A Nazarite in place abominable
Vaunting my ſtrength in honour to their Dagon!
Beſides, how vile, contemptible, ridiculous,

Ver. 1347. *Perhaps thou ſhalt have cauſe to ſorrow indeed.*] Here the cataſtrophe is anticipated, as before, v. 1266.

——— " it may with mine
" Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed."

And ſuch anticipations are uſual with the beſt dramatick writers, who, knowing their own plan, open it by degrees, and drop ſuch hints as cannot be perfectly comprehended, till they are fully explained by the event. The ſpeaker himſelf can only be ſuppoſed to have ſome general meaning, and not a diſtinct conception of all the particulars; ſomewhat like the high-prieſt in the Goſpel, who propheſied without his knowing it. NEWTON.

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What act more execrably unclean, profane!

Chor. Yet with this ſtrength thou ſerv'ſt the Philiſtines,
Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

Samſ. Not in their idol-worſhip, but by labour
Honeſt and lawful to deſerve my food
Of thoſe, who have me in their civil power.

Chor. Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

Samſ. Where outward force conſtrains, the ſentence holds.
But who conſtrains me to the temple of Dagon,
Not dragging? the Philiſtian lords command.
Commands are no conſtraints. If I obey them,
I do it freely, venturing to diſpleaſe
God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,
Set God behind: which in his jealouſy
Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveneſs.
Yet that he may diſpenſe with me, or thee,
Preſent in temples at idolatrous rites
For ſome important cauſe, thou need'ſt not doubt.

Chor. How thou wilt here come off ſurmounts my reach.

Samſ. Be of good courage; I begin to feel
Some rouſing motions in me, which diſpoſe

Ver. 1377. *Yet that he may diſpenſe* &c.] Milton here probably had in view the ſtory of Naaman the Syrian begging a *diſpenſation* of this ſort from Eliſha, which he ſeemingly grants him. See II *Kings* v. 18, 19. THYER.

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To ſomething extraordinary my thoughts.
I with this meſſenger will go along,
Nothing to do, be ſure, that may diſhonour
Our Law, or ſtain my vow of Nazarite.
If there be aught of preſage in the mind,
This day will be remarkable in my life
By ſome great act, or of my days the laſt.

Chor. In time thou haſt reſolv'd, the man returns.

Off. Samſon, this ſecond meſſage from our lords
To thee I am bid ſay. Art thou our ſlave,
Our captive, at the publick mill our drudge,
And dar'ſt thou at our ſending and command
Diſpute thy coming? come without delay;
Or we ſhall find ſuch engines to aſſail
And hamper thee, as thou ſhalt come of force,

Ver. 1384. *I with this meſſenger will go along,*] With what meſſenger? It was not expreſsly ſaid before that the meſſenger was coming; it was implied indeed in what the Chorus had ſaid,

" How thou wilt here come off ſurmounts my reach:"

And this might very well be underſtood by a man, who could ſee the meſſenger coming as well as the Chorus, but ſeems hardly a ſufficient intimation to a blind man, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to know that the meſſenger was coming by the ſame impulſe, that he felt rouſing him to ſomething extraordinary. NEWTON.

But the Chorus had alſo ſaid, v. 1352, after the Officer is departed, " *Expect* another meſſage more imperious, &c." Theſe words of Samſon may perhaps be conſidered, therefore, as an *expectation* of the return of the Officer, and his determination how to act accordingly. TODD.

Ver. 1387. *If there be aught of preſage in the mind,*] Euripides, *Andromache*, v. 1075.

———προμαντις θυμὸς ὡς τι προσδοκᾷ. TODD.

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Though thou wert firmlier faſten'd than a rock.
Samſ. I could be well content to try their art,
Which to no few of them would prove pernicious.
Yet, knowing their advantages too many,
Becauſe they ſhall not trail me through their ſtreets
Like a wild beaſt, I am content to go.
Maſters' commands come with a power reſiſtleſs
To ſuch as owe them abſolute ſubjection;
And for a life who will not change his purpoſe?
(So mutable are all the ways of men;)
Yet this be ſure, in nothing to comply
Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.
Off. I praiſe thy reſolution: doff theſe links:
By this compliance thou wilt win the lords
To favour, and perhaps to ſet thee free.

Ver. 1404. *Maſter's commands* &c.] This was a feint; but it had betrayed itſelf had it not been covered by v. 1408.

"Yet this be ſure &c." WARBURTON.

But this laſt paſſage muſt have been intended by the author to be addreſſed only to the Chorus: The Officer certainly anſwers Samſon's ſpeech, as if he had not heard theſe words. And as to the verſes 1404 and 1405 before us, they are in fact ſo far from being a feint, that they are marked with the moſt indignant ſpirit of irony; indeed ſo palpable, as to require what follows (*And for a life* &c.) to ſoften it down to the meſſenger. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1410. *I praiſe thy reſolution:*] That is, of going; not what he had ſaid laſt. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——————— doff *theſe links:*] Put off *theſe links*. He uſes this old word in his *Ode on the Nativ.* ver. 33. Thus Shakſpeare, *Troil. and Creſſ.* A. v. S. iii. "*Doff* thy harneſs, youth." And Spenſer, *Fuer. Qu.* v. vi. 23. "Ne *doffe* her armes, though he her much beſought." TODD.

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Samſ. Brethren, farewell; your company along
I will not wiſh, leſt it perhaps offend them
To ſee me girt with friends; and how the ſight
Of me, as of a common enemy,
So dreaded once, may now exaſperate them,
I know not: lords are lordlieſt in their wine;
And the well-feaſted prieſt then ſooneſt fir'd
With zeal, if aught religion ſeem concern'd;
No leſs the people, on their holy-days,
Impetuous, inſolent, unquenchable:

Ver. 1418. ——— *lords are lordlieſt in their wine;*
And the well-feaſted prieſt then ſooneſt fir'd
With zeal, if aught religion ſeem concern'd;
No leſs the people, on their holydays,
Impetuous, inſolent, &c.] Milton here inſinuates, that *holy-days* are of heathen inſtitution. The paſſage is a concealed attack on the church of England. But he firſt expreſſes his contempt of a Nobility, and an opulent Clergy, that is, Lords both ſpiritual and temporal, who by no means coincided with his levelling and narrow principles of republicaniſm and calviniſm; and whom he tacitly compares with the lords and prieſts of the idol Dagon. T. WARTON.

In a paſſage concerning *holy-days*, he had before openly compared the Clergy to the "hireling *prieſt* Balaam, ſeeking to draw the Iſraelites from the ſanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald *feaſts* of Baal-peor." *Of Reformation*, 1641, B. ii. This was written, while the controverſy ſubſiſted between the calviniſts and the hierarchy, reſpecting the liberty which the book, publiſhed by the biſhops in 1618, entitled "A Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's Day," had given to the country-people, in the exerciſe of their rural diverſions on Sundays after divine ſervice, and on *holy-days*. Theſe, ſays Mr. Warton, were Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, and other ſimilar harmleſs games. Prynne had pronounced the holy-day celebrities "a damnable cuſtome *taken from the Pagans*," Iliſtrio-Maſtix, 1633, p. 222, and "*heatheniſh paſtimes*," p. 240.

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Happen what may, of me expect to hear
Nothing diſhonourable, impure, unworthy
Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myſelf,
The laſt of me or no I cannot warrant.
Chor. Go, and the Holy One
Of Iſrael be thy guide
To what may ſerve his glory beſt, and ſpread his Name
Great among the Heathen round;
Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to ſtand
Faſt by thy ſide, who from thy father's field
Rode up in flames after his meſſage told
Of thy conception, and be now a ſhield

Jonſon points at theſe "*ſowrer ſort* of ſhepherds," it has been remarked, in his *Sad Shepherd*, 1640. A. i. S. iv.

"They call ours *Pagan paſtimes*, that infect
"Our blood with eaſe, &c."

I cite the paſſage which precedes Milton's compariſon already given. "That men ſhould be pluck't from their ſobereſt and ſaddeſt thoughts, and *by biſhops*, the pretended fathers of the Church, inſtigated *by publick edict* [The Book of Sports], and with earneſt endeavour puſht forward to gaming, jigging, waſſailing, and mixt dancing, is a horrour to think." *Of Ref.* ut ſupr. By the way, *mixt dancing* ſeems to have given great offence to the puritans: Stubbs, in his *Anatomie of Abuſes*, had particularly noticed the *unlawfulneſs* of dauncing of men and women together," p. 103. b. And Prynne repeatedly reprobates "the *mixt dancing* at Church-Ales and Maypoles, &c." in his *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*. Hence we perceive the meaning in *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 768.

——————————— "court-amours,
"*Mix'd dance*, or wanton maſk, or midnight ball. TODD.

Ver. 1434. ——— ——— *and be now a ſhield*
Of fire;] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, ver. 658. TODD.

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Of fire; that Spirit, that firſt ruſhed on thee
In the camp of Dan,
Be efficacious in thee now at need!
For never was from Heaven imparted
Meaſure of ſtrength ſo great to mortal ſeed,
As in thy wonderous actions hath been ſeen.—
But wherefore comes old Manoah in ſuch haſte
With youthful ſteps? much livelier than ere while
He ſeems; ſuppoſing here to find his ſon,
Or of him bringing to us ſome glad news?

[Enter] *Manoah.*

Man. Peace with you, Brethren; my inducement hither
Was not at preſent here to find my ſon,
By order of the lords now parted hence
To come and play before them at their feaſt.
I heard all as I came, the city rings,
And numbers thither flock: I had no will,
Leſt I ſhould ſee him forc'd to things unſeemly.
But that, which mov'd my coming now, was chiefly
To give ye part with me what hope I have
With good ſucceſs to work his liberty.

Chor. That hope would much rejoice us to partake
With thee; ſay, reverend Sire, we thirſt to hear.

Man. I have attempted one by one the lords
Either at home, or through the high ſtreet paſſing,
With ſupplication prone and father's tears,

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To accept of ranſom for my ſon their priſoner.
Some much averſe I found and wonderous harſh,
Contemptuous, proud, ſet on revenge and ſpite;
That part moſt reverenc'd Dagon and his prieſts:
Others more moderate ſeeming, but their aim
Private reward, for which both God and State
They eaſily would ſet to ſale: a third
More generous far and civil, who confeſs'd
They had enough reveng'd; having reduc'd
Their foe to miſery beneath their fears,
The reſt was magnanimity to remit,
If ſome convenient ranſom were propos'd.
What noiſe or ſhout was that? it tore the ſky.

Chor. Doubtleſs the people ſhouting to behold
Their once great dread, captive, and blind before them,
Or at ſome proof of ſtrength before them ſhown.

Man. His ranſom, if my whole inheritance

Ver. 1463. *That part moſt reverenc'd Dagon and his prieſts:*] Milton, I doubt not, in this place indulges that inveterate ſpleen, which he always had againſt publick and eſtabliſhed religion. He might alſo perhaps, in this deſcription of Manoah's application for Samſon's deliverance, glance at his own caſe after the Reſtoration. THYER.

Ver. 1464. *Others more moderate ſeeming*, &c.] The Preſbyterian party, who had joined the royaliſts and courtiers. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1472. ——————— *it* tore *the ſky*.] So, in *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 542.

"A *ſhout* that *tore* hell's concave."

Which Pope has copied, *Iliad* xiii. 1059.

"A *ſhout* that *tore* heaven's *concave*." TODD.

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May compaſs it, ſhall willingly be paid
And number'd down: much rather I ſhall chooſe
To live the pooreſt in my tribe, than richeſt,
And he in that calamitous priſon left.
No, I am fix'd not to part hence without him.
For his redemption all my patrimony,
If need be, I am ready to forego
And quit: not wanting him, I ſhall want nothing.
Chor. Fathers are wont to lay up for their ſons,
Thou for thy ſon art bent to lay out all;
Sons wont to nurſe their parents in old age,
Thou in old age car'ſt how to nurſe thy ſon,
Made older than thy age through eye-ſight loſt.
Man. It ſhall be my delight to tend his eyes,
And view him ſitting in the houſe, ennobled
With all thoſe high exploits by him achiev'd,
And on his ſhoulders waving down thoſe locks
That of a nation arm'd the ſtrength contain'd:

Ver. 1490. *It ſhall be my delight* &c.] The character of a fond parent is extremely well ſupported in the perſon of Manoah quite through the whole performance; but there is in my opinion ſomething particularly natural and moving in this ſpeech. The circumſtance of the old man's feeding and ſoothing his fancy with the thoughts of tending his ſon, and contemplating him, ennobled with ſo many famous exploits, is vaſtly expreſſive of the doating fondneſs of an old father. Nor is the poet leſs to be admired for his making Manoah, under the influence of this pleaſing imagination, go on ſtill further, and flatter himſelf even with the hopes of God's reſtoring his eyes again. Hope as naturally ariſes in the mind in ſuch a ſituation, as doubts and fears do when it is overclouded with gloominess and melancholy. THYER.

Ver. 1494. *That of a nation arm'd the ſtrength contain'd:*] So Ovid, of Niſus, *Met.* viii. 8.

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And I perſuade me, God had not permitted
His ſtrength again to grow up with his hair,
Garriſon'd round about him like a camp
Of faithful ſoldiery, were not his purpoſe
To uſe him further yet in ſome great ſervice;
Not to ſit idle with ſo great a gift
Uſeleſs, and thence ridiculous about him.
And ſince his ſtrength with eye-ſight was not loſt,
God will reſtore him eye-ſight to his ſtrength.

Chor. Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor ſeem vain
Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon
Conceiv'd, agreeable to a father's love,
In both which we, as next, participate.

Man. I know your friendly minds and—O what noiſe!—

——— " cui ſplendidus oſtro
" Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos
" *Crinis* inhærebat, *magni fiducia regni.*" TODD.

Ver. 1504. *Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor ſeem vain*
Of his delivery,] This is very proper and becoming the gravity of the Chorus, as much as to intimate that his other hopes were fond and extravagant. And the art of the poet cannot be ſufficiently admired in raiſing the hopes and expectations of his perſons to the higheſt pitch, juſt before the dreadful cataſtrophe. How great and how ſudden is the change from good to bad! The one renders the other more ſtriking and affecting. NEWTON.

Ver. 1508. ——— *and—O what noiſe!* &c.] It muſt be very pleaſing to the reader to obſerve with what art and judgement Milton prepares him for the relation of the cataſtrophe of this tragedy. This abrupt ſtart of Manoah upon hearing the hideous noiſe, and the deſcription of it by the Chorus in their

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Mercy of Heaven! what hideous noiſe was that?
Horribly loud, unlike the former ſhout.
Chor. Noiſe call you it, or univerſal groan,
As if the whole inhabitation periſh'd!
Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noiſe,
Ruin, deſtruction at the utmoſt point.
Man. Of ruin indeed methought I heard the noiſe:
Oh! it continues, they have ſlain my ſon.
Chor. Thy ſon is rather ſlaying them; that outcry

anſwer, in terms ſo full of dread and terrour, naturally fill the mind with a preſaging horrour proper for the occaſion. This is ſtill kept up by their ſuſpence and reaſoning about it, and at laſt raiſed to a proper pitch by the frighted and diſtracted manner of the Meſſenger's coming in, and his heſitation and backwardneſs in telling what had happened. What gives it the greater ſtrength and beauty is the ſudden tranſition from that ſoothing and flattering proſpect, with which Manoah was entertaining his thoughts to a ſcene ſo totally oppoſite. THYER.

Nothing can be more impreſſive, more calculated to excite pity, than the revolution of Samſon's fate, which is now developed. For, as a learned writer obſerves, "while every thing appears tending to *his releaſe*, a horrible crash announces *his deſtruction*." See Harris's Philolog. Inq. Part ii. p. 209. TODD.

Ver. 1512. ——— *inhabitation*] Οἰκημάτων. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1513. *Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noiſe,*] Like the reply of the Chorus to Electra in the tragedy of that name by Euripides, on her inquiring concerning the dreadful noiſe they had heard, ver. 752. edit. Barnes.

Οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἢ, ΦΟΝΟΝ ΟΙΜΩΓΗΝ κλύω. TODD.

Ver. 1514. ——— *at the utmoſt point.*] Al ultimo ſegno. RICHARDSON.

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From ſlaughter of one foe could not aſcend.
Man. Some diſmal accident it needs muſt be;
What ſhall we do, ſtay here or run and ſee? 1520
Chor. Beſt keep together here, leſt, running thither,
We unawares run into danger's mouth.
This evil on the Philiſtines is fallen;
From whom could elſe a general cry be heard;
The ſufferers then will ſcarce moleſt us here; 1525
From other hands we need not much to fear.
What if, his eye-ſight (for to Iſrael's God
Nothing is hard) by miracle reſtor'd,
He now be dealing dole among his foes,

Ver. 1521. *Beſt keep together here, leſt,* &c.] In this paſſage, as is conſtantly the practice of Sophocles and Euripides, a reaſon is aſſigned for the Chorus continuing on the ſtage. There ſhould always be a reaſon for the exit and entrance of every perſon in the drama. Jos. WARTON.

Ver. 1527. *What if, his eye-ſight* &c.] The Chorus here entertains the ſame pleaſing hope of Samſon's *eye-ſight* being *by miracle reſtored*, which he had before tacitly reproved in Manoah; and Manoah, who had before encouraged the ſame hope in himſelf, now deſponds, and reckons it *preſumptuous* in another. Such changes of our thoughts are natural and common, eſpecially in any change of our ſituation and circumſtances. Fear and hope uſually ſucceed each other, like ague and fever. And it was not a ſlight obſervation of mankind, that could have enabled Milton to have underſtood, and deſcribed, the human paſſions ſo exactly. NEWTON.

Ver. 1529. *He now be* dealing dole *among his foes,*] See Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 10.

" The Centaures ſhew them valorous, ſo did Ixion ſtout,
" And braue Gany'medes did *deale* his balefull *dole* about."

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And over heaps of ſlaughter'd walk his way? 1530

Man. That were a joy preſumptuous to be thought.

Chor. Yet God hath wrought things as incredible

For his people of old; what hinders now?

Man. He can, I know, but doubt to think he will;

Yet hope would fain ſubſcribe, and tempts belief.

A little ſtay will bring ſome notice hither. 1536

Again, in the tranſlation of *Orlando Innamorato*, three firſt books, 1598, where the phraſe is applied to a warriour:

" Thus Ferraw, brauo-like, doth *deale his dole.*"

Again, in Edm. Eluiden's metrical *Hiſtorie of Peſiſtratus and Catanea*, 12mo. bl. l. imprint. at Lond. by H. Bynneman:

" To view the deſperate *dole* of force,
" And fierceneſſe of their fight."

Nor is Spenſer's deſcription diſſimilar, *Faer. Qu.* v. xi. 45.

" *Dealing his dreadfull blowes with large diſpence,*
" Gainſt which the pallid death finds no defence."

And in the next line, from the deſcription of Talus by Spenſer in the ſame book, C. vii. ſt. 36, there appears to be a remembrance

——— " of the *heaps* which he did make
" Of *ſlaughter'd* carcaſes." TODD.

Ver. 1536. *A little ſtay will bring ſome notice hither.*] The text of the firſt edition wants the nine lines preceding this, and the line that follows it: but they are ſupplied in the Errata. This line, in that edition, is in the part of the Chorus, as I think it ought to be: and ſo is the next but one, in that and all the editions; though it ſeems to belong rather to Manoah. The line between them, which is wanting (as I juſt now obſerved) in the text of the firſt edition, is given, in the Errata and in all

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Chor. Of good or bad ſo great, of bad the
ſooner;
For evil news rides poſt, while good news bates.
And to our wiſh I ſee one hither ſpeeding,
An Hebrew, as I gueſs, and of our tribe.

[Enter] *Meſſenger.*

Meſſ. O whither ſhall I run, or which way fly
The ſight of this ſo horrid ſpectacle,
Which erſt my eyes beheld, and yet behold?
For dire imagination ſtill purſues me.
But providence or inſtinct of nature ſeems,
Or reaſon though diſturb'd, and ſcarce conſulted,
To have guided me aright, I know not how,
To thee firſt, reverend Manoah, and to theſe
My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,
As at ſome diſtance from the place of horrour,

the editions ſince, to the Chorus; but the poet certainly intended both them and Manoah a ſhare in it.

Chor. "A little ſtay will bring ſome notice hither
"Of good or bad ſo great.
Man. Of bad the ſooner!
"For evil news rides poſt, while good news bates.
Chor. "And to our wiſh I ſee one hither ſpeeding,
"An Hebrew, as I gueſs, and of our tribe."

CALTON.

Ver. 1538. *For evil news rides poſt,*] So, in Statius:

"Spargitur in turmas ſolito pernicior index
"Cùm lugenda refert." TODD.

Ver. 1541. *O whither* &c.] Compare the introduction and exclamation of the meſſenger in the *Perſæ* of Eſchylus, and in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. TODD.

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So in the ſad event too much concern'd.
Man. The accident was loud, and here before thee
With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not;
No preface needs, thou ſeeſt we long to know.
Meſſ. It would burſt forth, but I recover breath
And ſenſe diſtract, to know well what I utter.
Man. Tell us the ſum, the circumſtance defer.
Meſſ. Gaza yet ſtands, but all her ſons are fallen,
All in a moment overwhelm'd and fallen.
Man. Sad, but thou know'ſt to Iſraelites not ſaddeſt
The deſolation of a hoſtile city.

Ver. 1552. ——————— *and* here *before thee*] Here again the old errour was carefully preſerved through all the editions. In the firſt edition it was printed "and *heard* before thee;" but we have corrected it, as Milton himſelf corrected it in the table of Errata, to which correction as well as the reſt no regard was paid in any edition, though it improves the ſenſe greatly. NEWTON.

Yet the edition of 1747, by Tonſon, had, in moſt inſtances of errour, paid regard to Milton's corrections; and now reads "and *here* before thee." TODD.

Ver. 1554. *No preface needs,*] No preface is wanting. *Needs* is a verb neuter here, as in *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 80. Where ſee the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 1556. *And ſenſe* diſtract,] The word is uſed likewiſe as an adjective in Shakſpeare. *Jul. Cæſ.* A. iv. S. iv.

——————— "with this ſhe fell *diſtract*,
"And (her attendants abſent) ſwallow'd fire."

And in *Twelfth Night*, A. v. S. v. NEWTON.

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Meſſ. Feed on that firſt; there may in grief
be ſurfeit.
Man. Relate by whom.
Meſſ. By Samſon.
Man. That ſtill leſſens
The ſorrow, and converts it nigh to joy.
Meſſ. Ah! Manoah, I refrain too ſuddenly
To utter what will come at laſt too ſoon;
Leſt evil tidings with too rude irruption
Hitting thy aged ear ſhould pierce too deep.
Man. Suſpenſe in news is torture, ſpeak them
out.
Meſſ. Take then the worſt in brief, Samſon is
dead.

Ver. 1562. *Feed on that firſt; there may in grief be ſurfeit.*] Compare the Song in the old comedy of *The Rare Triumphs of Loue and Fortune*, 4to. 1589. bl. letter;

" Goe walke the path of plaint, goe wander wretched now,
" In vncoth waies, blind corners, fit for ſuch a wretch as thou:
" There *feede vpon thy woe;* freſh thoughts ſhalbe thy fare,
" Muſing ſhalbe thy waiting maide, thy carver ſhalbe Care."

And Shakſpeare, *Two Gent. Veron.* A. iii. S. i.

——— " I have *fed upon this woe* already,
" And now *exceſs of it will make me ſurfeit.*"

Thus alſo Carew, in his *Verſes to the Counteſs of Angleſea:*

" Yet ſince you *ſurfeit on your grief*, 'tis fit
" I tell the world &c."

Petrarch has the expreſſion " Paſcomi di dolor," *Sonet.* civ. parte 1ma. TODD.

Ver. 1565. ——— *I refrain* &c.] The reader cannot fail to obſerve, and to feel, the art of the poet in very gradually unfolding the cataſtrophe. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1570. ——— *Samſon is dead.*] With the

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Man. The worſt indeed! O all my hopes defeated
To free him hence! but death, who ſets all free,
Hath paid his ranſom now and full diſcharge.
What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd
Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves
Abortive as the firſt-born bloom of ſpring

affecting brevity of Homer, Κεῖται Πάτροκλος. See alſo the Electra of Sophocles, Τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης κ. τ. λ. TODD.

Ver. 1576. *Abortive as the firſt-born bloom of ſpring* &c.] As Mr. Thyer ſays, this ſimilitude is to be admired for its remarkable juſtneſs and propriety: One cannot poſſibly imagine a more exact and perfect image of the dawning hope, which Manoah had conceived from the favourable anſwer he had met with from ſome of the Philiſtian lords, and of its being ſo ſuddenly extinguiſhed by this return of ill fortune, than that of the early bloom, which the warmth of a few fine days frequently puſhes forward in the ſpring, and then it is cut off by an unexpected return of winterly weather. As Mr. Warburton obſerves this beautiful paſſage ſeems to be taken from Shakſpeare, *Henry VIII.* A. iii. S. ii.

" This is the ſtate of man; To-day he puts forth
" The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow bloſſoms,
" And bears his bluſhing honours thick upon him:
" The third day, comes a froſt, a killing froſt;
" And, when he thinks, good eaſy man, full ſurely
" His greatneſs is a-ripening, nips his root;
" And then he falls, as I do."—

Upon which Mr. Warburton remarks, that as ſpring-froſts are not injurious to the *roots* of fruit-trees, he ſhould imagine the poet wrote *ſhoot*, that is, the tender *ſhoot* on which are the young *leaves* and *bloſſoms*. The compariſon, as well as expreſſion of *nips*, is juſter too in this reading. Shakſpeare has the ſame thought in *Love's Labour Loſt*.

" Byron is like an envious ſneaping froſt,
" That bites the firſt-born infants of the ſpring."

NEWTON.

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Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's froſt!
Yet ere I give the reins to grief, ſay firſt,
How died he; death to life is crown or ſhame.
All by him fell, thou ſay'ſt; by whom fell he?
What glorious hand gave Samſon his death's wound?

Meſſ. Unwounded of his enemies he fell.

Man. Wearied with ſlaughter then, or how? explain.

Meſſ. By his own hands.

Man. Self-violence? what cauſe
Brought him ſo ſoon at variance with himſelf
Among his foes?

Meſſ. Inevitable cauſe
At once both to deſtroy, and be deſtroy'd;
The edifice, where all were met to ſee him,
Upon their heads and on his own he pull'd.

Man. O laſtly over-ſtrong againſt thyſelf!
A dreadful way thou took'ſt to thy revenge.
More than enough we know; but while things yet
Are in confuſion, give us, if thou canſt,
Eye-witneſs of what firſt or laſt was done,
Relation more particular and diſtinct.

Meſſ. Occaſions drew me early to this city;

See alſo *Titus Andronicus*, A. iv. S. iv.

"Theſe tidings *nip* me, and I hang the head
"As *flowers with froſt*, or graſs beat down with ſtorms."

TODD.

Ver. 1596. *Occaſions drew me early* &c.] As I obſerved before, that Milton had, with great art, excited the reader's attention to this grand event, ſo here he is no leſs careful to

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And, as the gates I enter'd with ſun-riſe,
The morning trumpets feſtival proclaim'd
Through each high ſtreet: little I had deſpatch'd,
When all abroad was rumour'd that this day
Samſon ſhould be brought forth, to ſhow the people
Proof of his mighty ſtrength in feats and games;
I ſorrow'd at his captive ſtate, but minded
Not to be abſent at that ſpectacle.
The building was a ſpacious theatre
Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high,

gratify it by the relation. It is circumſtantial, as the importance of it required, but not ſo as to be tedious or too long to delay our expectation. It would be found difficult, I believe, to retrench one article without making it defective, or to add one which ſhould not appear redundant. The picture of Samſon in particular *with head inclin'd and eyes fix'd*, as if he was addreſſing himſelf to that God, who had given him ſuch a meaſure of ſtrength, and was ſumming up all his force and reſolution, has a very fine effect upon the imagination. Milton is no leſs happy in the ſublimity of his deſcription of this grand exploit, than judicious in the choice of the circumſtances preceding it. The poetry riſes as the ſubject becomes more intereſting; and one may without rant or extravagance ſay, that the poet ſeems to exert no leſs force of genius in deſcribing, than Samſon does ſtrength of body in executing. THYER.

Ver. 1604. ——— *abſent* at *that ſpectacle.*] The language would be more correct, if it was "abſent *from* that ſpectacle." NEWTON.

Ver. 1605. *The building was a ſpacious theatre*
Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high, &c.]
Milton has finely accounted for this dreadful cataſtrophe, and has with great judgement obviated the common objection. It is commonly aſked, how ſo great a building, containing ſo many thouſands of people, could reſt upon two pillars ſo near placed

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With ſeats where all the lords, and each degree
Of ſort, might ſit in order to behold;
The other ſide was open, where the throng
On banks and ſcaffolds under ſky might ſtand;
I among theſe aloof obſcurely ſtood.
The feaſt and noon grew high, and ſacrifice
Had fill'd their hearts with mirth, high cheer, and wine,
When to their ſports they turn'd. Immediately
Was Samſon as a publick ſervant brought,
In their ſtate livery clad; before him pipes
And timbrels, on each ſide went armed guards,
Both horſe and foot, before him and behind
Archers, and ſlingers, cataphracts, and ſpears.

together and to this it is anſwered, that inſtances are not wanting of far more large and capacious buildings than this, that have been ſupported only by one pillar. Particularly, Pliny in the 15th chapter of the 36th book of his natural hiſtory, mentions two theatres built by one C. Curio, who lived in Julius Cæſar's time; each of which was ſupported only by one pillar, or pin, or hinge, though very many thouſands of people did ſit in it together. See Poole's *Annotations*. Mr. Thyer further adds, that Dr. Shaw, in his Travels, obſerving upon the eaſtern method of building ſays, that the place where they exhibit their diverſions at this day is an advanced cloyſter, made in the faſhion of a large penthouſe, ſupported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or elſe at the center; and that, upon a ſuppoſition therefore that, in the houſe of Dagon, there was a cloiſtered ſtructure of this kind, the pulling down the front or center pillars only which ſupported it would be attended with the like cataſtrophe that happened to the Philiſtines. See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 283. NEWTON.

Ver. 1619. *Archers,*] The poet introduces *archers* into the proceſſion; as the invention of the bow and arrow is aſcribed to the Philiſtines. See *The Univ. Hiſt.* TODD.

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At ſight of him the people with a ſhout
Rifted the air, clamouring their God with praiſe,
Who had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.
He patient, but undaunted, where they led him,
Came to the place; and what was ſet before him,
Which without help of eye might be aſſay'd,
To heave, pull, draw, or break, he ſtill perform'd
All with incredible, ſtupendious force;
None daring to appear antagoniſt.
At length for intermiſſion ſake they led him
Between the pillars; he his guide requeſted
(For ſo from ſuch as nearer ſtood we heard)
As over-tir'd to let him lean a while
With both his arms on thoſe two maſſy pillars,
That to the arched roof gave main ſupport.

Ver. 1619. ——— *cataphracts*] That is, men and horſes in armour. "*Cataphracti* equites dicuntur, qui et *ipſi* ferro muniti ſunt, et *equos* ſimiliter munitos habent." Servius *in Virg. Aen.* xi. 770. The word had been before employed in Engliſh poetry. See Liſle's *Farie Æthiopian*, 4to. 1631, p. 150.

"The *archers* follow nimble, and arm'd light—
"And after them came other bowes, and *ſlings*, &c.
"His ſtrong phalanges march on either ſide;
"And troopes of *cataphracts* before him ride." TODD.

Ver. 1627. ——— *ſtupendious*] The old word, preſerved here in Milton's own edition, as alſo in *Par. L.* B. x. 351. So, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607, p. 238.

"The ſame, with other like *ſtupendious* deeds,
"He put in practice &c." TODD.

Ver. 1634. *That to the* arched roof *gave* &c.] Milton, we ſee, retains, in his laſt production, his early attachment to this kind of ancient architecture. Thus, in his *Ode Nativ.* ſt. xix. "Runs through the *arched roof* &c." Again, in *Il Penſ.* v. 157.

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He, unſuſpicious, led him; which when Samſon
Felt in his arms, with head a while inclin'd,
And eyes faſt fix'd he ſtood, as one who pray'd,
Or ſome great matter in his mind revolv'd:
At laſt with head erect thus cried aloud;
" Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd
" I have perform'd, as reaſon was, obeying,
" Not without wonder or delight beheld:
" Now of my own accord ſuch other trial
" I mean to ſhow you of my ſtrength, yet
" greater,
" As with amaze ſhall ſtrike all who behold."
This utter'd, ſtraining all his nerves he bow'd;

" And love the high *embowed roof*." See alſo *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 726. " From the *arched roof* &c." I muſt obſerve, however, that Quarles, in his poetical *Hiſt. of Samſon*, relates the ſame circumſtance of the building in which Samſon diſplayed his ſtrength, and fell, edit. 1632, p. 378.

" her *arched roofe* was all
" Builded with maſſie ſtone." TODD.

Ver. 1637. *And eyes faſt fix'd he ſtood,*] Samſon having had his eyes put out, this only means to deſcribe his attitude, by his countenance being fixed on the ground, as it muſt be when " his head was inclined." *Eyes faſt fix'd* is a claſſical phraſe. Hom. Il. γ. 218. κατὰ χθόνος ὄΜΜΑΤΑ ΠΗΞΑΣ. And ſee Ovid, *Epiſt. Her.* vi. 26. The exact expreſſions of *head inclin'd* and *eyes faſt fix'd* occur in Perſius, *Sat.* iii. 79.

" non ego curo
" Eſſe quod Arceſilas, aerumnoſique Solones
" *Obſtipo capite* et *figentes lumina terram*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 1645. *As with amaze ſhall* ſtrike &c.] I am not without a painful ſuſpicion, that there is an intended pun in the word *ſtrike*. It too much reſembles the language of the evil angels, in

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As with the force of winds and waters pent,
When mountains tremble, thoſe two maſſy pillars
With horrible convulſion to and fro
He tugg'd, he ſhook, till down they came and drew
The whole roof after them, with burſt of thunder
Upon the heads of all who ſat beneath,
Lords, ladies, captains, counſellers, or prieſts,
Their choice nobility and flower, not only
Of this but each Philiſtian city round,
Met from all parts to ſolemnize this feaſt.
Samſon, with theſe immix'd, inevitably
Pull'd down the ſame deſtruction on himſelf;
The vulgar only 'ſcap'd who ſtood without.

Chor. O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious!

the ſixth book of Paradiſe Loſt, on producing their artillery and witneſſing the ſucceſsful effect of it. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1647. *As with the force of winds and waters pent, When mountains tremble,*] Compare the ſimile in *Par. Loſt*, B. vi. 195, &c. TODD.

Ver. 1649. *With horrible* convulſion] In ſeveral editions it is printed *confuſion*, but Mr. Thyer, Mr. Sympſon, and every body, ſaw that it ſhould be *convulſion;* and ſo, it is in Milton's own edition: And in the next line it ſhould not be "He tugg'd, he *took*," as it is abſurdly in ſome editions, but "He tugg'd, he *ſhook*," as in the firſt edition. NEWTON.

Both the errours, noticed in the preceding remark, are rectified in Tonſon's edition of 1747. TODD.

Ver. 1660. *O dearly-bought revenge,* &c.] It is judicious to make the Chorus and Semi-Chorus ſpeak after this dreadful account of Samſon's death, and not his father Manoah, who makes

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Living or dying thou haſt fulfill'd
The work for which thou waſt foretold
To Iſrael, and now ly'ſt victorious
Among thy ſlain ſelf-kill'd,
Not willingly, but tangled in the fold
Of dire neceſſity, whoſe law in death conjoin'd
Thee with thy ſlaughter'd foes, in number more

no anſwer till after a conſiderable pauſe, as he may be ſuppoſed to be ſtruck dumb with the unexpected event.

Jos. WARTON.

Ver. 1664. ——— *ſelf-kill'd,*
Not willingly,] "This ſuicide of Samſon's (ſays a learned author) "was of that nature, which reſpects not ſelf immediately, or primarily ſeeks to compaſs its own death. Had Samſon only ſought his own death, he would probably have found means of deſtroying himſelf in priſon, before he was brought forth to be made a ſhow and a ſpectacle. But a renewal of the glory of God in the deſtruction of the Philiſtines was his principal object; which glory had been apparently violated by their general uſage of his ſervant Samſon, and the particular indignity they had made him ſuffer in the loſs of his eyes. His own death was an accidental circumſtance connected with his point in view, but not the firſt and direct aim of the action. It was neceſſary indeed for him to put his own life into the utmoſt hazard, with ſcarce a poſſibility of eſcape; but he cheerfully ſubmitted to fall with his enemies, rather than not accompliſh his great deſign." Moore's *Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide*, vol. i. p. 89. TODD.

Ver. 1666. *Of* dire *neceſſity,*] This ſhows, I think, that Milton approved of Horace's expreſſion "*dira* neceſſitas;" which Bentley propoſed to alter to "*dura.*" But Rucellai, in his beautiful tragedy of *Roſmunda*, has that phraſe, A. iv. "*Dura* neceſſità &c." TODD.

Ver. 1667. ——— *in number more*
Than all thy life hath ſlain before.] "So the

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Than all thy life hath ſlain before.

1. *Semichor.* While their hearts were jocund and ſublime,
Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine,
And fat regorg'd of bulls and goats,
Chaunting their idol, and preferring
Before our living Dread who dwells
In Silo, his bright ſanctuary:
Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy ſent,
Who hurt their minds,
And urg'd them on with mad deſire
To call in haſte for their deſtroyer;
They, only ſet on ſport and play,
Unweetingly impórtun'd
Their own deſtruction to come ſpeedy upon them.
So fond are mortal men,

dead which he ſlew at his death, were more than they which he ſlew in his life," *Judges* xvi. 30. NEWTON.

Ver. 1670. *Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine,*] This diſtinction of drunkenneſs is ſcriptural. See Iſaiah xxix. 9. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1674. *In Silo,*] Where the tabernacle and ark were at that time. NEWTON.

Ver. 1675. *Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy ſent,*] So, in his *Proſe-W.* vol. i. p. 273. "Can this be granted them, unleſs God have *ſmitten us with phrenzie* from above, and with a dazling giddineſs at noon-day?" TODD.

Ver. 1682. *So fond are mortal men,* &c.] Agreeable to the common maxim, "Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius." THYER.

This maxim has not, I believe, been traced to any authority. The unknown writer of it may poſſibly have been indebted to the

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Fallen into wrath divine,
As their own ruin on themſelves to invite,
Inſenſate left, or to ſenſe reprobate,
And with blindneſs internal ſtruck.

2. *Semichor.* But he, though blind of ſight,
Deſpis'd and thought extinguiſh'd quite,
With inward eyes illuminated,

Scholiaſt on a paſſage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. But there is in the Fragments of Euripides the following ſentiment; which Milton doubtleſs here remembered, as the expreſſion in v. 1676, *Who hurt their minds*, clearly, I think, evinces,

Ὅταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ προσύτη κακὰ
Τὸν νῦν ἵλαψε πρῶτον. *Incert. Trag.* v. 436. ed. Barnes.

And theſe lines are cited by the Scholiaſt on the following lines in the *Antigone:*

Σοφίᾳ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
Κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται,
" Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἰσθλὸν
" Τῷδ' ἔμμεν' ὅτῳ φρένας
" Θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν."

Then on the laſt line follows the Scholiaſt's remark, to which the Latin maxim, above mentioned, bears a great reſemblance:— Ἤγουν, ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΟΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΕΙΝ, ΑΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΛΑΒΗΝ. TODD.

Ver. 1686. *And with blindneſs internal ſtruck.*] Here it is evident, I think, that the poet had a very fine paſſage of his beloved poetry in mind, in the *Paſtor Fido* of Guarini, A. v. S. vi.

" O cecità de le terrene menti;
" In qual profonda notte,
" In qual foſca caligine d'errore
" Son le noſtr' alme immerſe,
" Quando tu non le illuſtri, o ſommo Sole." TODD.

Ver. 1689. *With inward eyes illuminated,*] The *inward eye* is a phraſe of which Milton's friend, Henry More, ſeems fond, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Thus, in c. iii. ſt. 9.

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His fiery virtue rous'd
From under aſhes into ſudden flame,
And as an evening dragon came,
Aſſailant on the perched rooſts
And neſts in order rang'd
Of tame villatick fowl; but as an eagle

" But corporall life doth ſo obnubilate
" Our *inward eyes* that they be nothing bright."

Again, ſt. 11. " With foul filth the *inward eye* yblent." See alſo ſt. 5, of the ſame canto: " God doth *illuminate the mind*." Compare note on *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 51. TODD.

Ver. 1692. *And as an evening dragon came*, &c.] Mr. Calton ſays that Milton certainly dictated

" And *not* as an evening dragon came."

Samſon *did not* ſet upon them, like an evening dragon: *but* darted ruin on their heads, like the thunder-bearing eagle. Mr. Sympſon, to the ſame purpoſe, propoſes to read

" And *not* as evening dragon came,
——" *but* as an eagle &c."

Mr. Thyer underſtands it otherwiſe, and explains it without any alteration of the text, to which rather I incline. One might produce (ſays he) authorities enow, from the naturaliſts, to ſhow that ſerpents devour fowls. That of Aldrovandus is ſufficient, and ſerves fully to juſtify this ſimile. Speaking of the food of ſerpents he ſays, " Etenim aves, et potiſſimum avium pullos in nidis adhuc degentes libenter furantur." Aldrov. *de Serp. & Drac.* Lib. 1. c. 3. It is common enough, among the ancient poets, to meet with ſeveral ſimilies brought in to illuſtrate one action; when *one* cannot be found, that will hold in *every* circumſtance. Milton does the ſame here, introducing the ſimile of the dragon merely in alluſion to the order in which the Philiſtines were placed in the amphitheatre, and the ſubſequent one of the eagle to expreſs the rapidity of that vengeance which Samſon took of his enemies. NEWTON.

Ver. 1695. —— villatick fowl;] " *Villaticas alites*," Plin. lib. xxiii. ſect. 17. RICHARDSON.

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His cloudleſs thunder bolted on their heads.
So Virtue, given for loſt,
Depreſs'd, and overthrown, as ſeem'd,
Like that ſelf-begotten bird
In the Arabian woods emboſt, 1700

Ver. 1695. ——— *but as an eagle* &c.] In the *Ajax* of Sophocles it is ſaid that his enemies, if they ſaw him appear, would be terrified like birds at the appearance of the vulture or the eagle, v. 167. Ἀλλ' ὅτι γαὴρ δὴ κ. τ. λ. The Greek verſes, I think, are faulty; and, as I remember, are corrected not amiſs by Dawes in his *Miſcell. Critic.* JORTIN.

Apuleius deſcribes an eagle "in prædam *ſuperne* ſeſe *ruere*, *fulminis vice*." Florid. Lib. i. ad init. The ancients deſcribed heroes of great proweſs and activity in war as *thunderbolts*. See Spanheim *De uſu et præſtantia Numiſmatum*, Diſſert. v. where he treats of the epithets beſtowed on the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and among others that of *thunderer*. DUNSTER.

Milton, in his allegorical deſcription of Samſon's locks, which he terms the golden beams of Law and Right, in his *Reaſon of Church Government*, finely illuſtrates the paſſage before us: "They, ſternly ſhook, THUNDER *with ruin upon the heads* of thoſe his evil counſellors, but not without great affliction to himſelf." TODD.

Ver. 1699. *Like that ſelf-begotten bird*] The introduction of the phœnix is particularly cenſured by Dr. Johnſon. Tertullian, Ambroſe, and others of the Fathers, have however cited the phœnix as a rational argument of a reſurrection. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1700. ——— ——— *emboſt*,] Probably from the Italian *emboſcare*, to encloſe in a thicket, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves. I find that Milton uſes *imboſk* in this ſenſe, which is nearer to the original. "They ſeek the dark, the buſhy, the tangled forreſt: they would *imboſk*." Proſe-W. vol. i. 1698. p. 261. It appears to have been uſed by our old poets, as a term of hunting, applied more particularly to the hart: Thus in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 352.

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That no ſecond knows nor third,
And lay ere while a holocauſt,
From out her aſhy womb now teem'd,
Revives, reflouriſhes, then vigorous moſt
When moſt unactive deem'd;
And, though her body die, her fame ſurvives
A ſecular bird ages of lives.

" And how the harte had upon length
" So moche *enboſed*, I n'ot nowe what."

And in Chapman's *Iliad*, iv. p. 55. of hinds and harts,

" Who, wearied with a long-run field, are inſtantly *emboſt*."

So P. Fletcher, in his *Poetic. Miſcell.* p. 86.

" Look as an hart, with ſweat and bloud embrued,
" Chas'd and *emboſt*, thirſts in the ſoil to be." TODD.

Ver. 1702. ——— *a* holocauſt,] An *entire burnt-offering*. Elſe generally only part of the beaſt was burnt. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1706. ——— *her fame ſurvives*
A ſecular bird ages of lives.] The conſtruction and meaning of the whole period I conceive to be this, Virtue, given for loſt, like the phœnix conſumed and now teemed from out her aſhy womb, revives, reflouriſhes, and though her body die, which was the caſe of Samſon, yet her fame ſurvives a phœnix many ages: for the comma after *ſurvives* in all the editions ſhould be omitted, as Mr. Calton has obſerved as well as myſelf. The phœnix, ſays he, lived *a thouſand years* according to ſome. [See Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, Pars ſecunda, p. 817.] and hence it is called here *a ſecular bird*. " Ergo quoniam ſex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta ſunt; per *ſecula ſex*, id eſt annorum *ſex millia*, manere hoc ſtatu mundum neceſſe eſt." Lactantius *Div. Inſt.* Lib. 7. c. 14. The fame of virtue (the Semichorus ſaith) *ſurvives*, outlives, this *ſecular bird* many ages. The comma, which is in all the editions, after *ſurvives*, breaks the conſtruction. NEWTON.

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Man. Come, come; no time for lamentation now,
Nor much more cauſe; Samſon hath quit himſelf
Like Samſon, and heroickly hath finiſh'd
A life heroick; on his enemies
Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,
And lamentation to the ſons of Caphtor
Through all Philiſtian bounds; to Iſrael
Honour hath left, and freedom, let but them
Find courage to lay hold on this occaſion;
To himſelf and father's houſe eternal fame;
And, which is beſt and happieſt yet, all this

Ver. 1708. ——— *no time for lamentation now,* &c.] In the *Hecuba* of Euripides, Hecuba, when ſhe is informed of the heroical death of her daughter Polyxena, after expreſſing her grief, corrects it with ſimilar reflections, ver. 591.

Το δ' αν λιαν παρειλης, αγξιλθισα μοι
Γενναιος. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1713. ——— *to the ſons of* Caphtor] *Caphtor* it ſhould be, and not *Chaptor* as in ſeveral editions: and *the ſons of Caphtor* are Philiſtines, originally of the iſland Caphtor or Crete. The people were called Caphtorim, Cherethim, Ceretim, and afterwards Cretians. A colony of them ſettled in Paleſtine, and there went by the name of Philiſtim. MEADOWCOURT.

Ver. 1717. *To himſelf and father's houſe eternal fame;*] Pindar, *Iſthm. Od.* vii.

Ισω γαρ σαφες, ὁς τι ϛεφ
Τουτῳ παρεστι χαλα-
ζαν αἱματος πρὸς φιλας
Πατρας ἀμυνεται,
Δοιγὸν ἀμφιων ἀναντιῳ στρατῳ
Αρᾶν, ΓΕΝΕΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΟΣ ΑΤΙΜΩΝ
Ζωων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανὼν. TODD.

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With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,
But favouring and aſſiſting to the end.
Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breaſt; no weakneſs, no contempt,
Diſpraiſe, or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death ſo noble.
Let us go find the body where it lies
Soak'd in his enemies blood; and from the ſtream
With lavers pure, and cleanſing herbs, waſh off
The clotted gore. I, with what ſpeed the while,
(Gaza is not in plight to ſay us nay,)
Will ſend for all my kindred, all my friends,

Ver. 1721. *Nothing is here for tears,* &c.] The whole of this ſpeech of Manoah is in a high degree pleaſing and intereſting. From this place to the concluſion it gradually riſes in beauty, ſo as to form one of the moſt captivating parts of this admirable tragedy. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1725. *Let us go find the body* &c.] When Sarpedon is ſlain in the Iliad, Jupiter gives Phœbus a commiſſion to find the body and have all due obſequies and funeral rites paid it. See *Il.* xvi. 667, &c. Compare alſo the rites paid to the corpſes of Patroclus and Hector, *Il.* xviii, xxiv. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1730. *Will ſend for all my kindred, all my friends,* &c.] This is founded upon what the Scripture ſaith, *Judges* xvi. 31; which the poet has finely improved. "Then his brethren, and all the houſe of his father, came down and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eſhtaol in the burying-place of Manoah his father." NEWTON.

The poet by *ſilent obſequy*, in this deſcription of the laſt reſpect intended to be paid to Samſon, alludes to the cuſtom obſerved at the Jewiſh funerals; at which all the near relations of the deceaſed came to the houſe in their mourning dreſs, and ſat down upon the ground *in ſilence*; whilſt in another part of the houſe were heard the voices of mourners, and the ſound of inſtruments,

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To fetch him hence, and ſolemnly attend
With ſilent obſequy, and funeral train,
Home to his father's houſe: there will I build him
A monument, and plant it round with ſhade
Of laurel ever green, and branching palm,
With all his trophies hung, and acts inroll'd
In copious legend, or ſweet lyrick ſong.
Thither ſhall all the valiant youth reſort,
And from his memory inflame their breaſts

hired for the purpoſe: Theſe exclamations continued till the rites were performed, when the neareſt relations reſumed their melancholy poſture. TODD.

Ver. 1736. *With all his* trophies hung,] Chivalry was now again in Milton's mind. "Sancho deſcolgò las armas, que como *troſeo* de un arbol eſtavan *pendientes*, y requiriendo &c." *D. Quix.* P. ii. lib. iv. cap. xxix. He might alſo allude to the cuſtom of hanging the ſword, helmet, and armorial enſigns, over the tombs of eminent perſons. TODD.

Ibid. ——————————— *acts inroll'd*
In copious legend, or ſweet lyrick ſong.] Pindar. *Pyth. Od.* V.

—— Οπιθόμβροτον αὔ-
χημα δόξας
Οἷον αποιχομένων ἀν-
δρῶν ἱκάταν μανύει,
Καὶ ΛΟΓΙΟΙΣ καὶ ΑΟΙΔΟΙΣ. TODD.

Ver. 1738. *Thither ſhall all the valiant youth* &c.] Maſon, who was a great admirer of this tragedy, introduces Caractacus thus conſoling himſelf over the body of his ſon Arviragus:

"Here in high Mona ſhall thy noble limbs
"Reſt in a noble grave; poſterity
"Shall to thy tomb with annual reverence bring
"Sepulchral ſtones, and pile them to the clouds."

TODD.

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To matchleſs valour, and adventures high:
The virgins alſo ſhall, on feaſtful days,
Viſit his tomb with flowers; only bewailing
His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,
From whence captivity and loſs of eyes.
Chor. All is beſt, though we oft doubt
What the unſearchable diſpoſe
Of higheſt Wiſdom brings about,
And ever beſt found in the cloſe.
Oft he ſeems to hide his face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to his faithful champion hath in place
Bore witneſs gloriouſly; whence Gaza mourns,
And all that band them to reſiſt
His uncontrollable intent:
His ſervants he, with new acquiſt

Ver. 1740. ——————— *adventures high:*] This is a term in chivalry and romance. "La *alta aventura*," D. Quix. And in Hawes's *Paſtime of Pleaſure*, 1554, chap. xxxii.

"Right *high aduentures* unto you ſhall fall
"In time of fyght."

Quarles has alſo ſaid of Samſon, "His youth was crown'd with *high* and brave *adventures*," p. 291. Hiſt. of Samſon, 1632. TODD.

Ver. 1745. *All is beſt, though we oft doubt* &c.] There is a great reſemblance betwixt this ſpeech of Milton's Chorus, and that of the Chorus in Æſchylus's *Supplices*, beginning at ver. 90, to ver. 109. THYER.

See alſo the concluding lines of the *Medea*, *Bacchæ*, and *Helena*, of Euripides; and alſo the ſix laſt verſes of Pindar's twelfth *Pythian Ode*. TODD.

Ver. 1755. *His* ſervants] It is "his *ſervant*" in moſt of the

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Of true experience, from this great event
With peace and conſolation hath diſmiſt,
And calm of mind all paſſion ſpent.

editions; but the firſt edition has it rightly, " his *ſervants,*" meaning the Chorus and other perſons preſent. NEWTON.

Ver. 1755. ——————— *acquiſt*] The ſame, ſays doctor Newton, as *acquiſition*, a word that may be found in Skinner; but which he does not remember to have met with elſewhere. I once thought that Milton adopted it from the Italian *acquiſto*. But I have ſince found the word common in our elder writers. Thus, in a Letter of James Howell, dated in 1646, to Mr. E. P. at Paris: " Much notice is taken that you go on there too faſt in your *acqueſts*." Fam. Letters, ed. 1737, p. 405. Fanſhaw, in his tranſlation of the Luſiad, publiſhed in 1655, writes it alſo *acqueſt*, p. 7. But Heath, in his Chronicle of the Civil Wars, fol. p. 402, writes " his unjuſt *acquiſts*." And in Aleyn's poetical Hiſt. of Henry VII. ed. 1638, p. 130, the word is likewiſe written *acquiſt*. TODD.

Ver. 1757. *With peace and conſolation hath diſmiſt,*
And calm of mind all paſſion ſpent.] This moral leſſon in the concluſion is very fine, and excellently ſuited to the beginning. For Milton had choſen for the motto to this piece a paſſage out of Ariſtotle, which may ſhow what was his deſign in writing this tragedy, and the ſenſe of which he hath expreſſed in the preface, that " tragedy is of power by raiſing pity and fear, or terrour, to purge the mind of thoſe and ſuch like paſſions, &c." and he exemplifies it here in Manoah and the Chorus, after their various agitations of paſſion, acquieſcing in the divine diſpenſations, and thereby inculcating a moſt inſtructive leſſon to the reader. NEWTON.

Samſon Agoniſtes is the only tragedy that Milton finiſhed, though he ſketched out the plans of ſeveral, and propoſed the ſubjects of more, in his manuſcript preſerved in Trinity College, Cambridge. And we may ſuppoſe that he was determined, to

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the choice of this particular ſubject, by the ſimilitude of his own circumſtances to thoſe of Samſon blind and among the Philiſtines. This I conceive to be the laſt of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very ſpirit of the ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the moſt perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian ſtage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the ſtage, the diviſion into acts and ſcenes is omitted. Biſhop Atterbury had an intention of getting Pope to divide it into acts and ſcenes, and of having it acted at Weſtminſter: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that deſign. It has ſince been brought upon the ſtage in the form of an Oratorio; and Handel's muſick is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artiſt has done equal juſtice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*, as if the ſame ſpirit poſſeſſed both maſters, and as if the god of Muſick, and of Verſe, was ſtill one and the ſame. NEWTON.

Samſon Agoniſtes is but a very indifferent ſubject for a dramatick fable. However Milton has made the beſt of it. He ſeems to have choſen it for the ſake of the ſatire on bad wives. WARBURTON.

It would be hardly leſs abſurd to ſay, that he choſe the ſubject of *Paradiſe Loſt* for the ſake of deſcribing a connubial altercation. The nephew of Milton has told us, that he could not aſcertain the time when this drama was written; but it probably flowed from the heart of the indignant poet ſoon after his ſpirit had been wounded by the calamitous deſtiny of his friends, to which he alludes with ſo much energy and pathos, in the Chorus, v. 652, &c. He did not deſign the drama for a theatre, nor has it the kind of action requiſite for theatrical intereſt; but in one point of view the *Samſon Agoniſtes* is the moſt ſingularly affecting compoſition, that was ever produced by ſenſibility of heart and vigour of imagination. To give it this particular effect, we muſt remember, that the lot of Milton had a marvellous coincidence with that of his hero, in three remarkable points: firſt (but we ſhould regard this as the moſt inconſiderable article of reſemblance) he had been tormented by a beautiful but diſaffectionate and diſobedient wife; condly, he had been the great champion of his country, and as ſuch the idol of publick admi-

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ration; laſtly, he had fallen from that heighth of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the moſt humiliating reverſe of fortune. In delineating the greater part of Samſon's ſenſations under calamity, he had only to deſcribe his own. No dramatiſt can have ever conformed ſo literally as Milton to the Horatian precept; "*Si vis me flere*, &c." And if, in reading the *Samſon Agoniſtes* we obſerve how many paſſages, expreſſed with the moſt energetick ſenſibility, exhibit to our fancy the ſufferings and real ſentiments of the poet, as well as thoſe of his hero, we may derive from this extraordinary compoſition a kind of pathetick delight, that no other drama can afford; we may applaud the felicity of genius, that contrived, in this manner, to relieve a heart overburthened with anguiſh and indignation, and to pay a half-concealed, yet hallowed, tribute to the memories of dear though diſhonoured friends, whom the ſtate of the times allowed not the afflicted poet more openly to deplore. HAYLEY.

Dr. Johnſon thought differently about this tragedy, written evidently and happily in the ſtyle and manner of Æſchylus; and ſaid, "that it was deficient in both requiſites of a true Ariſtotelick middle. Its intermediate parts have neither cauſe nor conſequence, neither haſten nor retard the cataſtrophe." To which opinion the judicious Mr. Twining accedes. What Dr. Warburton ſaid of it is wonderfully ridiculous, that Milton "choſe the ſubject for the ſake of the ſatire on bad wives;" and that the ſubjects of *Samſon Agoniſtes* and *Paradiſe Loſt* were not very different, "the fall of two heroes by a woman." Milton, in this drama, has given an example of every ſpecies of meaſure which the Engliſh language is capable of exhibiting, not only in the choruſes, but in the dialogue part. The chief parts of the dialogue, (though there is a great variety of meaſure in the choruſes of the Greek tragedy,) are in Iambick verſe. I recollect but three places in which hexameter verſes are introduced in the Greek tragedies; once in the *Trachiniæ*, once in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, and once in the *Troades* of Euripides. Voltaire wrote an opera on this ſubject of *Samſon*, 1732; which was ſet to muſick by Rameau, but was never performed; he has inſerted choruſes to Venus and Adonis; and the piece finiſhes by introducing Samſon actually pulling down the temple, on the ſtage, and cruſhing all the aſſembly, which Milton has ſung into ſo fine a narration; and the opera is ended by Samſon's

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ſaying, " J' ai réparé ma honte, & j'expire en vainqueur." And yet this was the man that dared to deride the irregularities of Shakſpeare. Jos. WARTON.

Of the ſtyle of this poem, it is to be obſerved that it is often inexact and almoſt ungrammatical; and of the metre, that it is very licentious: BOTH with deſign and the moſt conſummate judgement. An irregular conſtruction carries with it an air of negligence, well ſuited to this drama; and yet prevents the expreſſion from falling into vulgarity: and a looſeneſs of meaſure gives grace and eaſe to the tragick dialogue. But this apology does not extend to ſuch inaccuracies in the Maſk of Comus; which, as a work of delight and oſtentation, ſhould have been every where laboured, as indeed for the moſt part it is, into the utmoſt poliſh of ſtyle and metre. Milton learnt the ſecret he has here ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed from his ſtrict attention to the Greek tragedians, eſpecially Euripides. The modern criticks of this poet are perpetually tampering with his careleſs expreſſion, careleſs numbers, &c. unconſcious that both were the effect of art. It is on theſe occaſions we may apply the obſervation,

" It is not Homer nods, but we that dream."

The *Samſon Agoniſtes* is, in every view, the moſt artificial, and highly finiſhed, of all Milton's poetical works. HURD.

Dr. Warton, in a concluding note on *Lycidas*, aſſigns to *Samſon Agoniſtes* the third place of rank among the poet's works. Lord Monboddo, ſtill more enamoured of its excellencies, ſays, that it is " the laſt and the moſt faultleſs, in my judgment, of all Milton's poetical works, if not the fineſt." Orig. and Prog. of Language, 2d edit. vol. iii. p. 71. It is certainly, as Mr. Maſon long ſince obſerved, an excellent piece, to which Poſterity has not yet given its full meaſure of popular and univerſal fame. " Perhaps," ſays this judicious writer in a letter to a friend concerning his own impreſſive tragedy of *Elfrida*, " in your cloſet, and that of a few more, who unaffectedly admire genuine nature and ancient ſimplicity, the *Agoniſtes* may hold a diſtinguiſhed rank. Yet, ſurely, we cannot ſay, in Hamlet's phraſe, *that it pleaſes the million; it is ſtill caviare to the general.*" Elfrida, edit. 1752. Lett. ii. p. vi, vii.

Mr. Penn has printed, in the ſecond volume of his valuable " Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works, 1798," an abridge-

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ment of Milton's *Samſon;* in nearly which form he thinks it might be acted as an interlude, without danger of being ill received. The abridgement is formed with much ingenuity. Yet the claſſical reader will not perhaps accede to the abſence of ſome ſplendid, and ſome affecting, paſſages. Mr. Penn alſo remarks, that Dr. Johnſon's criticiſm on this tragedy is ſevere only in ſuppoſing, that it contained no more than the ſubſtance of one act; and that, though ſtill one of Milton's valuable works, *Samſon* is inferiour both to *Lycidas*, and the *Allegro* and *Penſeroſo*. I agree in preferring the earlier poems of Milton to his tragedy: But I may be permitted not to ſubſcribe to the aſſertion in Dr. Johnſon's criticiſm that "nothing paſſes between the firſt act and the laſt, that either haſtens or delays the death of Samſon;" which, Mr. Cumberland obſerves, is not correct. See before, p. 336. On the contrary, I admire the art and judgement with which the poet has delineated the various circumſtances that, from the firſt entrance of Manoah to the laſt appearance of Samſon, progreſſively affect the mind of the hero, and finally produce the reſolution which haſtens the cataſtrophe. Samſon, as an oratorio, is divided into three acts: Mr. Penn's abridgement exhibits the length of two.

It has been obſerved by Goldſmith, that *Samſon* is a tragedy without a love-intrigue, as the *Athalie* of Racine alſo is, which appeared not many years after *Samſon;* and that Maffei, inſtructed by theſe examples, has formed his *Merope* without any amorous plot.

The hiſtory of *Samſon* has often employed the pen of poetry. Mr. Hayley thinks that Milton's *Samſon* might perhaps be founded on a ſacred drama of that country, to the poets of which Milton was confeſſedly partial; *La Rappreſentazione di Samſone*, per Aleſſandro Roſelli; of which there is an edition printed at Florence in 1554, another at the ſame place in 1588, and a third at Siena in 1616: but I have not been more fortunate than Mr. Hayley, in endeavouring to procure a copy of this Samſon. The accompliſhed author of the *Hiſtorical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799, has ſuggeſted to me that Milton might have met with more than one Italian drama on this ſubject; for, among the *Rappreſentazioni* enumerated by Cionacci, he had obſerved a *Samſone*, from the prologue to which an extract is given:

"A gloria adunche dell' Altitonante,
"E di colui che più che 'l ſol riſplende; &c."

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and this he conceives to be not the Sanſone of Roſelli; but a Rappreſentazione of the fifteenth century. I am informed by the ſame gentleman, that, in or about the year 1622, appeared the following French drama, which might alſo have influenced the Engliſh poet in the choice of *Samſon*: "Tragedie nouvelle de Samſon le fort; contentant ſes victoires, & ſa priſe par la trahiſon de ſon épouſe Dalila, qui lui coupa ſes cheveux, & le livra aux Philiſtins, deſquels il occit trois mille à ſon treſpas: En quatre actes. 8vo. ſans date." I muſt not omit to mention the *Sanſone* of Ferrante Pallavicino, in three books, publiſhed at Venice in 1655, into which Milton might perhaps have looked. Probably, among the *Autos Sacramentales* or religious tragedies of the Spaniſh, a *Samſon* may exiſt. His hiſtory is particularly noticed, and part of it deſcribed in a Sonnet, in the celebrated Spaniſh paſtoral, *La Conſtante Amarillis*, edit. Lyon. 1614, p. 166. "Sanſon ſe mira y duda, &c." Among a variety of ſacred poems in different Latin metres, the acts of Samſon are deſcribed in nearly four hundred elegant hexameters in the *Judices Populi Iſraelitici*, Autore Pantaleone Candido, Auſtriaco, printed at Baſil in 1570, p. 301—315. Phillips, Milton's nephew, calls Candidus "the chief of thoſe that are fam'd for an elegant ſtyle in Latin verſe." *Theat. Poet.* 145. Phillips alſo, in his liſt of modern Poets, notices "Hieronymus Zieglerus, a writer of divers tragicomedies, and other dramatick pieces out of the Old and New Teſtament; as his *Protoplaſtus*, *Immolation of Iſaac*, *Nomotheſia*, SAMSON, *Heli*, &c." Theat. Poet. p. 73. The drama of Samſon was publiſhed, as I have already noticed, Auguſtæ, 1547, 8vo. But Milton is not to be traced in it. In our own language likewiſe, an elaborate *Hiſtorie of Samſon* was publiſhed, in 1632, by Quarles; in which, among ſeveral extravagances indeed of imagery and expreſſion, are ſome ſpirited paſſages: I will cite the deſcription of Samſon enraged, when he found that his bride had diſcovered his riddle, edit. 1632, p. 327.

"When the next Day had heav'd his golden head
"From the ſoft pillow of his ſea-greene bed;
"And, with his riſing glory, had poſſeſt
"The ſpatious borders of the enlighten'd Eaſt;
"Samſon aroſe; and, in a rage, went downe
"(By Heaven directed) to a neighbouring towne:

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" His choller was inflam'd, and from his eye
" The ſudden flaſhes of his wrath did flye;
" Paleneſſe was in his cheekes; and, from his breath,
" There flew the fierce embaſſadours of death;
" He heav'd his hand, and where it fell, it ſlew, &c."

TODD.

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APPENDIX TO SAMSON AGONISTES,

containing plans of other subjects, intended for TRAGEDIES by Milton:

From his own MS, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS.[a]

OTHER TRAGEDIES[b].

i. *The Flood.* [See No. iii. below.]
ii. *Abram in Ægypt.*
iii. *The Deluge.*
iv. *Sodom.*
v. *Dinah.* Vide Euſeb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. ix. cap. xxii.

[a] Many of theſe ſubjects in Milton's hands would have made glorious Tragedies. And one cannot enough lament that the prejudices of his age ſhould have diſcouraged him from giving us more of theſe dramas; for the execution of which he was, both by nature and art, ſupremely accomplished. There is, in the ſpecimen he has given us, a ſimplicity and dignity united, of which we have no example in modern Tragedy. His Samſon is at once the diſgrace of his own age and of ours. Hurd.

Theſe numerous Scripture ſubjects juſtify a remark made by Mr. Warton, that Milton early leaned towards religious ſubjects for plays, and wiſhed to turn the drama into the ſcriptural channel: He accordingly, in his *Reaſon of Ch. Gov. againſt Prelacy*, written in 1641, tempers his praiſe of Sophocles and Euripides with recommending *Solomon's Song*; and adds, that "the *Apocalypſe* of Saint John is the majeſtick image of *a high and ſtately tragedy*, ſhutting up and intermingling her ſolemn ſcenes and acts with a ſeven-fold *chorus* of hallelujahs and harping ſymphonies." *Proſe-Works*, edit. 1698, vol. i. 61. Todd.

[b] So they are termed in Milton's MS Theſe, which relate to *Paradiſe Loſt*, have been given at the end of that poem. Todd.

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The Perſons.

Dine.	Hamor.
Debora, Rebecca's nurſe.	Sichem.
Jacob.	Counſelors 2.
Simeon.	Nuncius.
Levi.	Chorus.

vi. *Thamar Cuophoruſa.* Where Juda is found to have been the author of that crime, which he condemned in Tamar: Tamar excus'd in what ſhe attempted.

vii. *The Golden Calfe*, or *The Maſſacre in Horeb.*

viii. *The Quails.* Num. xi.

ix. *The Murmurers.* Num. xiv.

x. *Corah, Dathan,* &c. Num. xvi, xvii.

xi. *Moabitides.* Num. xxv. [See No. lv. below.]

xii. *Achan.* Joſhue vii. and viii.

xiii. *Joſuah in Gibeon.* Joſh. x.

xiv. *Gideon Idoloclaſtes.* Judg. vi. vii.

xv. *Gideon purſuing.* Judg. viii.

xvi. *Abimelech the Uſurper.* Judg. ix.

xvii. SAMSON MARRIING, or *in Ramach Lechi.* Judg. xv.

xviii. SAMSON PURSOPHORUS, or *Hybriſtes*, or *Dagonalia.* Judg. xvi.

xix. *Comazontes*, or *The Benjaminites*, or *The Rioters.* Judg. xix, xx, xxi.

xx. *Theriſtria*, a Paſtoral, out of Ruth.

xxi. *Eliadæ*, Hophni and Phinehas. I Sam. i, ii, iii, iv. Beginning with the firſt overthrow of Iſrael by the Philiſtines; interlac't with Samuel's viſion concerning Elie's family.

xxii. *Jonathan reſcued.* I Sam. xiv.

xxiii. *Doeg ſlandering.* I Sam. xxii.

xxiv. *The ſheep-ſhearers in Carmel*, a Paſtoral. I Sam. xxv.

xxv. *Saul in Gilboa.* I Sam. xxviii, xxxi.

xxvi. *David revolted.* I Sam. from the xxvii. chap. to the xxxi.

xxvii. *David adulterous.* II Sam. c. xi, xii.

xxviii. *Tamar.* II Sam. xiii.

xxix. *Achitophel.* II Sam. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii.

xxx. *Adoniah.* I Reg. ii.

xxxi. *Solomon Gynæcocratumenus*, or *Idolomargus*, aut *Thyſiaruſa.* I Reg. xi.

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xxxii. *Rehoboam.* I Reg. xii. Wher is diſputed of a politick religion.

xxxiii. *Abias Therſæus.* I Reg. xiv. The queen, after much diſpute, as the laſt refuge, ſent to the profet Ahias of Shilo; receavs the meſſage. The Epitaſis, in that ſhee, hearing the child ſhall die, as ſhe comes home, refuſes to return, thinking thereby to elude the oracle. The former part is ſpent in bringing the ſick prince forth as it were deſirous to ſhift his chamber and couch, as dying men uſe; his father telling him what ſacrifice he had ſent for his health to Bethel and Dan; his fearleſſneſſe of death, and putting his father in mind to ſet [ſend] to Ahiah. The Chorus of the Elders of Iſrael bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at another time wondring why Jeroboam, being bad himſelf, ſhould ſo grieve for his ſon that was good, &c.

xxxiv. *Imbres*, or *The Showers.* I Reg. xviii, xix.

xxxv. *Naboth συκοφαντούμενος.* I Reg. xxi.

xxxvi. *Ahab.* I Reg. xxii. Beginning at the ſynod of fals profets: Ending with relation of Ahab's death: His bodie brought. Zedechiah ſlain by Ahab's friends for his ſeducing. (See Lavater, II Chron. xviii.)

xxxvii. *Elias in the mount.* II Reg. i. Ὀρεβάτης. Or, better, *Elias Polemiſtes.*

xxxviii. *Eliſæus Hudrochóos.* II Reg. iii. *Hudrophantes. Aquator.*

xxxix. *Eliſæus Adorodocétas.*

xl. *Eliſæus Menutes*, five in Dothaimis. II Reg. vi.

xli. *Samaria Liberata.* II Reg. vii.

xlii. *Achabæi Cunoborumeni.* II Reg. ix. The Scene, Jeſrael. Beginning, from the watchman's diſcovery of Jehu, till he go out. In the mean while, meſſage of things paſſing brought to Jeſebel, &c. Laſtly, the 70 heads of Ahab's ſons brought in, and meſſage brought of Ahaziah's brethren ſlain on the way. Chap. x.

xliii. *Jehu Belicola.* II Reg. x.

xliv. *Athaliah.* II Reg. xi.

xlv. *Amaziah Doryalotus.* II Reg. xiv. II Chron. xxv.

xlvi. *Hezechias πολιορκούμενος.* II Reg. xviii. ix. Heſechia beſeiged. The wicked hypocriſy of Shebna, (ſpoken of in the xi. or thereabout of Iſaiah,) and the com-

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mendation of Eliakim, will afford ἀφόρμας λόγου, together with a faction that ſought help from Egypt.

xlvii. *Joſiah* Ἀναζωπυρούμενος. II Reg. xxiii.

xlviii. *Zedechiah* παροξύνων. II Reg. But the ſtory is larger in Jeremiah.

xlix. *Salymon Halofis.* Which may begin from a meſſage brought to the city, of the judgement upon Zedechiah and his children in Ribla; and ſo ſeconded with the burning and deſtruction of city and temple by Nebuzaradan; lamented by Jeremiah.

l. *Aſa*, or *Æthiopes.* II Chron. xiv. with the depoſi mother, and burning her idol.

li. *The three children.* Dan. iii.

lii. *Abram from Morea*, or *Iſaac redeem'd.* The oiconomie may be thus. The fift or ſixt day after Abraham's departure, Eleazar (Abram's ſteward) firſt alone, and then with the Chorus, diſcourſe of Abraham's ſtrange voiage, thire miſtreſſe ſorrow and perplexity, accompanied with frightfull dreams; and tell the manner of his riſing by night, taking his ſervants and his ſon with him. Next may come forth Sarah herſelf. After the Chorus, or Iſmael, or Agar. Next ſome ſhepheard or companie of merchants, paſſing through the mount in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah what they ſaw. Hence lamentations, fears, wonders. The matter in the mean while divulg'd, Aner, or Eſchol, or Mamre, Abram's confederats, come to the houſe of Abram to be more certaine, or to bring news; in the mean while diſcourſing, as the world would, of ſuch an action, divers ways; bewayling the fate of ſo noble a man faln from his reputation, either through divin juſtice or ſuperſtition, or coveting to doe ſome notable act through zeal. At length a ſervant, ſent from Abram, relates the truth; and laſt he himſelfe comes in with a great traine of Melchizedec's, whoſe ſhepheards, beeing ſecretlye witneſſes of all paſſages, had related to their maſter, and he conducted his friend Abraham home with joy.

liii. *Baptiſtes.* The Scene, the Court.

Beginning, From the morning of Herod's birth-day.

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Herod, by ſome counſeler perſuaded [c] on his birth-day to releaſe John Baptiſt, purpoſes it; cauſes him to be ſent for to Court from priſon. The queen hears of it; takes occaſion to paſſe wher he is, on purpoſe, that, under prætenſe of reconſiling to him, or ſeeking to draw a kind retractation from him of the cenſure on the marriage; to which end ſhe ſends a courtier before, to ſound whether he might be perſuaded to mitigate his ſentence; which not finding, ſhe herſelf craftily aſſays; and, on his conſtancie, founds an accuſation to Herod of a contumacious affront, on ſuch a day, before many peers; præpares the king to ſome paſſion, and at laſt, by her daughter's dancing, effects it. There may prologize the Spirit of Philip, Herod's brother. It may alſo be thought that Herod had well bedew'd himſelf with wine, which made him grant the eaſier to his wive's daughter.

[c] *In the margin of the MS.* Or els the queen may plot, under prætence of begging for his liberty, to ſeek to draw him into a ſnare by his freedom of ſpeech.

Some of his diſciples alſo, as to congratulate his liberty, may be brought in; with whom, after certain command of his death, many compaſſionating words of his diſciples, bewayling his youth cut off in his glorious cours; he telling them his work is don, and wiſhing them to follow Chriſt his maiſter.

liv. *Sodom.* The title, *Cupid's funeral pile: Sodom burning.* The Scene before Lot's gate.

The Chorus, conſiſting of Lot's ſhepherds come to the citty about ſome affairs, await in the evening thire maiſter's return from his evening walk toward the citty gates. He brings with him two young men, or youths, of noble form. After likely diſcourſes, præpares for thire entertainment. By then ſupper is ended, the gallantry of the towne paſſe by in proceſſion, with muſick and ſong, to the temple of Venus Urania or Peor; and, underſtanding of tow noble ſtrangers arriv'd, they ſend 2 of thire choyſeſt youth, with the prieſt, to invite them to thire citty ſolemnities; it beeing an honour that thire citty had decreed to all fair perſonages, as beeing ſacred to their goddeſs. The angels, being aſk't by the prieſt whence they are, ſay they are of Salem; the prieſt inveighs againſt the ſtrict reign of Melchiſedec.

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Lot, that knows thire drift, anſwers thwartly at laſt. Of which notice given to the whole aſſembly, they haſten thither, taxe him of præſumption, ſingularity, breach of citty-cuſtoms; in fine, offer violence. The Chorus of ſhepheards præpare reſiſtance in thire maiſter's defence; calling the reſt of the ſerviture: but, being forc't to give back, the angels open the dore, reſcue Lot, diſcover themſelves, warne him to gether his friends and ſons in law out of the citty.

He goes, and returns; as having met with ſome incredulous. Some other freind or ſon in law (out of the way when Lot came to his houſe) overtakes him to know his buiſnes. Heer is diſputed of incredulity of divine judgements, and ſuch like matters.

At laſt is deſcribed the parting from the citty. The Chorus depart with their maiſter. The angels doe the deed with all dreadfull execution. The king and nobles of the citty may come forth, and ſerve to ſet out the terror. A Chorus of angels concluding, and the angels relating the event of Lot's journey and of his wife.

The firſt Chorus, beginning, may relate the courſe of the citty; each evening every one, with miſtreſſe or Ganymed, [d] gitterning along the ſtreets, or ſolacing on the banks of Jordan, or down the ſtream.

[d] gitterning *along the ſtreets*,] That is, *playing on the cittern* along the ſtreets. This muſical inſtrument, the *cittern*, was called *gittern* in Milton's time; and has been, in later days, termed by ſome the *guitar*. See Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 468. "The divers ſtrings of a ſweet *guittern*." And Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 280.

——————— "a *gitterne*,
"As muſicall as any bitterne."

Milton uſes the word *gitterning*, becauſe the *cittern* was the ſymbol of women that lived by proſtitution. See Sir John Hawkins's *Hiſt. of Muſick*, vol. iii. 498, where, among other proofs, Jonſon's *Volpone* is cited, A. ii. S. v. Corvino is there ironically exhorting his wife Celia not to dally with his jealouſy, but at once to proſtitute herſelf to the ſuppoſed mountebank who had courted her at her window:—"Get you a *cittern*, Lady Vanity, and be a dealer with the virtuous man!" In noticing that theſe females, in the reign of Elizabeth, added to their other allurements that of muſick, Sir John further obſerves that the *cittern* was moſt in uſe with them, as being light and portable like the lute, to which it bore a near reſemblance. The practice ſeems to have continued in Milton's time, and to have excited his juſt indignation.

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At the prieſts' inviting the angels to the ſolemnity, the angels, pittying their beauty, may diſpute of love, and how it differs from luſt; ſeeking to win them.

In the laſt ſcene, to the king and nobles, when the fierce thunder begins aloft, the angel appeares all girt with flames, which, he ſaith, are the flames of true love, and tells the king, who falls down with terror, his juſt ſufſering, as alſo Athane's, that is, Gener, Lot's ſon in law, for deſpiſing the continual admonitions of Lot. Then, calling to the thunders, lightning, and fires, he bids them heare the call and command of God to come and deſtroy a godleſſe nation. He brings them down with ſome ſhort warning to other nations to take heed.

lv. *Moabitides*, or *Phineas*. The epitaſis whereof may lie in the contention, firſt, between the father of Zimri and Eleazer, whether he [ought] to have ſlain his ſon without law? Next, the ambaſſadors of the Moabites, expoſtulating about Coſbi, a ſtranger and a noble woman, ſlain by Phineas.

It may be argued about reformation and puniſhment illegal, and, as it were, by tumult. After all arguments driven home, then the word of the Lord may be brought, acquitting and approving Phineas.

lvi. *Chriſtus Patiens*. The Scene, in the garden. Beginning, from the comming thither, till Judas betraies, and the officers lead him away. The reſt by Meſſage and Chouſ.

His agony may receav noble expreſſions.

lvii. *Chriſt born*.

lviii. *Herod maſſacring*, or *Rachel weeping*. Matt. ii.

lix. *Chriſt bound*.

lx. *Chriſt crucifi'd*.

lxi. *Chriſt riſen*.

lxii. *Lazarus*. John, xi.

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BRITISH TRAGEDIES.

lxiii. The cloiſter-king *Conſtans ſet up by Vortiger. Venutius,* huſband to Cartiſmandua.

lxiv. *Vortiger poiſon'd* by Roena.

lxv. *Vortiger immur'd. Vortiger marrying* Roena. See Speed. *Reprov'd* by Vodin, archbiſhop of London. Speed. *The maſſacre of the Britains* by Hengiſt in thire cups at Saliſbury plaine. Malmſbury.

lxvi. *Sigher*, of the Eaſt-Saxons, *revolted from the faith, and reclaimed by Jarumang.*

lxvii. *Ethelbert*, of the Eaſt-Angles, *ſlain by Offa* the Mercian. See Holinſh. L. vi. C. 5. Speed, in the life of Offa, and Ethelbert.

lxviii. *Sebert ſlaine by Penda after he had left his kingdom.* See Holinſhed, p. 116.

lxix. *Wulfer ſlaying his tow ſons for beeing Chriſtians.*

lxx. *Oſbert*, of Northumberland, *ſlain for raviſhing the wife of Berubocard, and the Danes brought in.* See Stow, Holinſh. L. vi. C. xii. And eſpecially Speed, L. viii. C. ii.

lxxi. *Edmund*, laſt king of the Eaſt-Angles, *martyr'd by Hinguar the Dane.* See Speed, L. viii. C. ii.

lxxii. *Sigbert*, tyrant of the Weſt-Saxons, *ſlaine by a Swinheard.*

lxxiii. *Edmund*, brother of Athelſtan, *ſlaine by a theefe at his owne table.* Malmeſb.

lxxiv. *Edwin*, ſon to Edward the younger, *for luſt depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of monks, whome he hated; together* [*with*] *the impoſtor Dunſtan.*

lxxv. *Edward*, ſon of Edgar, *murder'd by his ſtep-mother.* To which may be inſerted the tragedies ſtirr'd up betwixt the monks and prieſts about mariage.

lxxvi. *Ethelred*, ſon of Edgar, *a ſlothful king; the ruin of his land by the Danes.*

lxxvii. *Ceaulin*, king of the Weſt-Saxons, *for tyrannie depos'd, and baniſh't; and dying.*

lxxviii. *The ſlaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride, ſtirr'd up, as is ſaid, by Ethelbert, and he by Auſtine the monke; becauſe the Britains would not receave the rites of the Roman*

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church. See Bede, Geffrey Monmouth, and Holinſhed, p. 104. Which muſt begin with the convocation of Britiſh Clergie by Auſtin to determin ſuperfluous points, which by them were refuſed.

lxxix. *Edwin, by viſion, promiſed the kingdom of Northumberland on promiſe of his converſion; and therein eſtabliſh't by Rodoad, king of* [*the*] *Eaſt-Angles.*

lxxx. *Oſwin,* king of Deira, *ſlaine by Oſwie his friend, king of Bernitia, through inſtigation of flatterers.* See Holinſh. p. 115.

lxxxi. *Sigibert,* of the Eaſt-Angles, *keeping companie with a perſon excommunicated, ſlaine by the ſame man in his houſe, according as the biſhop Cedda had foretold.*

lxxxii. *Egfride,* king of the Northumbers, *ſlaine in battle againſt the Picts; having before waſted Ireland, and made warre for no reaſon on men that ever lov'd the Engliſh; forewarn'd alſo by Cuthbert not to fight with the Picts.*

lxxxiii. *Kinewulf,* king of the Weſt-Saxons, *ſlaine by Kineard in the houſe of one of his concubins.*

lxxxiv. *Gunthildis,* the Daniſh ladie, *with her huſband Palingus, and her ſon, ſlaine by the appointment of the traitor Edrick, in king Ethelred's days.* Holinſh. L. vii. C. 5. Together with the maſſacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed.

lxxxv. *Brightrick,* [king] of [the] Wek-Saxons, *poyſon'd by his wife Ethelburge, Offa's daughter; who dyes miſerably alſo, in beggery, after adultery, in a nunnery.* Speed in Bithrick.

lxxxvi. *Alfred, in diſguiſe of a minſtrel, diſcovers the Danes' negligence; ſets on* [*them*] *with a mightie ſlaughter.* About the ſame tyme the Devonſhire men rout Hubba, and ſlay him.

lxxxvii. *Athelſtan expoſing his brother Edwin to the ſea, and repenting.*

lxxxviii. *Edgar ſlaying Ethelwold for falſe play in wooing.* Wherein may be ſet out his pride, and luſt, which he thought to cloſe by favouring monks and building monaſteries. Alſo the diſpoſition of woman in Elfrida towards her huſband. [Peck propoſes, and juſtly, I think, to read *clwke* inſtead of *cloſe.*]

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lxxxix. *Swane beſeidging London, and Ethelred repuls't by the Londoners.*

xc. *Harold ſlaine in battle, by William the Norman.* The firſt Scene may begin with the ghoſt of Alfred, the ſecond ſon of Ethelred, ſlaine in cruel manner by Godwin, Harold's father; his mother and brother diſſuading him.

xci. *Edmund Ironſide defeating the Danes at Brentford; with his combat with Canute.*

xcii. *Edmund Ironſide murder'd by Edrick the traitor, and reveng'd by Canute.*

xciii. *Gunilda*, daugter to king Canute and Emma, wife to Henry III. emperour, *accus'd of inchaſtitie; defended by her Engliſh page in combat againſt a giant-like adverſary; who by him at two blows is ſlaine, &c.* Speed, in the life of Canute.

xciv. *Hardiknute dying in his cups:* An example to riot.

xcv. *Edward the Confeſſor's divorſing and impriſoning his noble wife, Editha, Godwin's daughter.* Wherin he ſhewed his over-affection to ſtrangers, the cauſe of Godwin's inſurrection. Wherein Godwin's forbearance of battel prais'd; and the Engliſh moderation on both ſides, magnifi'd. His [Edward's] ſlackneſſe to redreſſe the corrupt clergie, and ſuperſtitious prætence of chaſtitie.

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SCOTCH STORIES, or rather BRITISH OF THE NORTH PARTS.

xcvi. *Athirco ſlain by Natholochus, whoſe daughters he had raviſht; and this Natholochus, uſurping thereon the kingdom, ſeeks to ſlay the kindred of Athirco, who ſcape him and conſpire againſt him.* He ſends a witch to know the event. The witch tells the meſſenger, that he is the man, that ſhall ſlay Natholochus. He deteſts it; but, in his journie home, changes his mind, and performs it. Scotch Chron. Engliſh. p. 68, 69.

xcvii. *Duffe and Donwald.* A ſtrange ſtory of witchcraft and murder diſcover'd and reveng'd. Scotch ſtory, 149 &c.

xcviii. *Haie, the plowman, who, with his two ſons that were at plow, running to the battell that was between the Scots and Danes in the next field, ſtaid the flight of his countrymen, renew'd the battell, and caus'd the victorie,* &c. Scotch ſtory, p. 155, &c.

xcix. *Kenneth, who, having privily poiſon'd Malcolm Duffe that his own ſon might ſucceed, is ſlain by Fenella.* Scotch Hiſt. p. 157, 158, &c.

c. *Mackbeth.* Beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be expreſs't by the appearing of his ghoſt.

THE END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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